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ART. I.—THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

II. THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD.

1. *The Christian Ecclesia*. By FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1897.)
2. *Ecce Homo. A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ*. Fifth Edition, with a new Preface. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1866.)
3. *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Edited by T. K. CHEYNE, D.D., and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D. Vol. III., Article *Ministry*. By Professor P. W. SCHMIEDEL, of Zürich. (London: A. and C. Black, 1902.)
4. *The Words of Jesus*. By GUSTAF DALMAN, Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Authorised English Version by D. M. KAY, B.D., B.Sc., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of St. Andrews. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.)
5. *The Church and its Organization in Primitive and Catholic Times*. By WALTER LOWRIE, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904.)
6. *Kirchenrecht*. Von RUDOLPH SOHM. Erster Band: *Die Geschichtlichen Grundlagen*. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1892.)

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7. *Pastor Pastorum, or the Schooling of the Apostles by Our Lord.* By HENRY LATHAM, M.A., Late Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Eleventh Thousand. (Cambridge : Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1904.)
8. *Regnum Dei.* By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, D.D. [now Bishop of Exeter]. (London : Methuen & Co., 1901.)

IN a previous article we have attempted to depict the Jewish environment out of which Christianity grew, so as to be able to estimate what influence, if any, it might exert on the foundation and growth of a Christian Society. We have now to approach a further and, as it will be found, a more difficult question, and to consider in what sense and to what extent our Lord founded a Church. At first sight the inquiry may seem unnecessary. The New Testament, it will be pointed out, clearly represents Him as doing so, and although Christians may have differed as to the constitution of the Church, and as to many other similar points, they have seldom had any doubt as to the divine origin of the society or community to which they have given that name. Yet at the present day this view is sharply contested, and it is denied absolutely that our Lord in any sense founded a Church. It may be convenient before beginning our investigation to contrast two typical examples of these different opinions.

The author of *Ecce Homo* may be cited as neither conventional nor particularly orthodox ; but he based what will always be felt to be an exceedingly fresh exposition of the teaching of Christ on the fundamental fact that He was not merely a great religious teacher, but the founder of a Society, and that just in this feature lay the power and originality of His plan. 'Christ,' he says, 'claimed to be Founder, Legislator, and Judge of a new divine Society.' To deny that Christ did intend to found a divine Society is only possible 'to those who altogether deny the credibility of the extant biographies of Christ.' And the object of this divine Society was 'that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ecce Homo*, pp. 40, 41, 89. A short defence of these views will be found in the Preface to the Fifth Edition of the work, pp. vii-ix.



On the other hand, it is a characteristic of a widely represented school of Church historians to eliminate altogether this idea of a Society from the work of Christ. It is noticeable, for example, in Harnack's recent work on the 'Essence of Christianity' as in his *History of Christian Dogma*. It is laid down as an axiom by Sohm in his book on Church Law, and is developed with a fearless logic by Professor Schmiedel. 'In so far,' the latter maintains, 'as religion consists in a relation of the devout heart to God, everything of the nature of a "constitution" is foreign to its nature.' At the beginning of Christianity no constitution of the Church existed. 'It would be a great mistake to suppose that Jesus himself founded a new religious community.'<sup>1</sup>

Now in a sense these statements represent one side of the truth. It is quite true that our Lord did not directly found the Christian Church during His life on earth, but appointed His Apostles that they might do so. It is true, too, that He did not found a new religious community, because the Christian Church, although marked by the very greatest originality in all its characteristics, has grown out of and is only a transformation of the Jewish Church.<sup>2</sup> It is true again that we do not find in the Gospels any but the vaguest directions as to the constitution of the Church. In so far, then, as Professor Schmiedel is protesting against a misconception of our Lord's method, we may be prepared to follow him.

But, as a matter of fact, he means much more than this. He means that the foundation of a Christian Society was not

<sup>1</sup> See the article 'Ministry' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii. 3101-3103.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 11. 'What He declared that He would build was in one sense old, in another new. It had a true continuity with the Ecclesia of the Old Covenant; the building of it would be a rebuilding. Christ's work in relation to it would be a completion of it, a bestowal on it of power to fulfil its as yet unfulfilled Divine purposes. But it might also be called a new Ecclesia, as being founded on a new principle or covenant, and in this sense might specially be called the Ecclesia of Messiah, Messiah actually manifested; and under such a point of view building rather than rebuilding would be the natural verb to use. It is hardly necessary to remind you how these two contrasted aspects of the Gospel, as at once bringing in the new, and fulfilling and restoring the old, are inseparably intertwined in our Lord's teaching.'

part of the plan of our Lord, and that none of the principles or institutions which conditioned its after-development had their origin in His words or acts. Dr. Schmiedel's methods of proof are remarkable. It is very doubtful, we are told, whether our Lord called his disciples 'Apostles'; He certainly did not do so as conferring on them a particular rank. The commission of binding and loosing in the sense of non-forgiveness and forgiveness of sins is in the mouth of our Lord 'impossible,' as also is almost all the address to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18 *sqq.* This is shown *inter alia* by the use of the word *ecclesia*. 'Baptism and the repetition of the last supper were no ordinances of Jesus.' 'The conclusion of the parable of the tares does not come from Jesus.'<sup>1</sup>

The conclusions, therefore, arrived at by Professor Schmiedel are radical, and his methods are drastic. He deliberately cuts out as not genuine any passage which conflicts with his opinions. It may safely be said that this method is subjective and unsound. If we are at liberty to isolate certain portions of our Lord's teaching, to form in that way a conception of what we think that He taught, and then to cut out whatever conflicts with the limited view which we have thus adopted, we are able to prove almost anything. Yet when once suspicions as to the credibility of the Gospel narrative have been suggested, it is very difficult to disprove them. What evidence have we, as a matter of fact, that the narrative of the Gospels, and in particular these passages, are authentic?

To meet this difficulty, the method pursued in the following investigation will be first of all to examine the teaching of the Gospels, and inquire whether they give any evidence as to the foundation of the Christian Society, not only in isolated passages, but in the general character of their contents. If we find that the more definite and decisive passages are in harmony with the rest of the teaching, it will be much easier to accept them as genuine. Having in this way obtained a conception of what the Gospels seem to teach, we shall then ask whether it takes a natural place in the development

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of Christian belief and life. If it does so, if the conception thus formed gives a natural cause of the development of the Christian Society, it will be in accordance with sound criticism to accept it as genuine.<sup>1</sup>

## I.

The expression most commonly used by our Lord to indicate the content of His teaching is that of the 'Kingdom of God,' or perhaps more correctly 'the sovereignty of God,' with which is synonymous the expression used in the First Gospel, 'the kingdom' (or sovereignty) 'of heaven.'<sup>2</sup> This expression first demands our examination, all the more because it has been taken as simply identical with the Church. That this is so cannot be maintained. The kingdom of heaven means more than this; but it is obvious that there is a very close connexion between the two. When our Lord tells St. Peter of the founding of His Church, He immediately adds, as if there were some connexion of ideas, 'I will give

<sup>1</sup> The two works which have been most helpful in this investigation are *Ecce Homo* and Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*. With regard to the Gospel narrative, the position adopted is that in the bulk of the subject matter of the Synoptic Gospels we have the account of our Lord's words, as it was told by the first generation of Christians, that it was reduced to writing before the Fall of Jerusalem and to its present form certainly before the end of the first century, and probably twenty or thirty years earlier; that although it would be hazardous to rely on single isolated passages, and we cannot feel certain that in many cases we have the exact words of our Lord, yet the substantial accuracy of the teaching and the authenticity of the great bulk of the religious ideas need not be doubted.

<sup>2</sup> On these terms see particularly Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 91-147, E. T. There can be no doubt that the meaning of ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν is the same as that of ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, the former being the Jewish expression, modified in St. Mark and St. Luke to suit Greek readers. 'Jesus will have preferred the popular expression because He also readily abstained from the use of the divine name' (93, 94). On the meaning of the expression Dalman writes, 'No doubt can be entertained that both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature, מְלָכֻת, when applied to God, means always the "kingly rule," never the "kingdom." . . . It is more correct to regard, with B. Weiss, as fundamental, the meaning "the full realisation of the sovereignty of God," so as never to lose sight of the starting-point.' (*Ibid.* p. 94)

unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' It is the character of this expression, and the meaning which we assign to the Divine Sovereignty, that we have now to investigate.<sup>1</sup>

The primary conception implied in the expression 'kingdom of heaven' or 'sovereignty of heaven' was that of the divine theocracy, the rule of God as opposed to that of earthly sovereigns or the powers of evil. Although the exact expression does not occur in the Old Testament, the idea which it represents is common. Israel was to live under the direct rule of Jehovah, and the people of Israel, in act as well as in name, were to live according to His laws. As we have already seen, the expectation of the establishment of the theocracy had become part of the current thought of the day. The exact form which the expectation took might vary, but it was almost always associated with limited national or crude eschatological conceptions. From both these our Lord entirely freed it, and used it as the vehicle for profound moral teaching, for inaugurating new conditions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 18, 19: 'One large department of our Lord's teaching, sometimes spoken of as if it directly belonged to our subject, may, I believe, be safely laid aside. In the verse following that which we have been considering [Matt. xvi. 18], our Lord says to St. Peter, "I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Without going into details of interpretation, we can at once see that the relation between the two verses implies some important relation between the Ecclesia and the Kingdom of Heaven: but the question is, what relation? The simplest inference from the language used would be that the office committed to St. Peter and the rest with respect to the Ecclesia, would enable him and them to fulfil the office here described as committed to him, with respect to the Kingdom of Heaven. But the question is whether this is a sufficient account of the matter. Since Augustine's time the Kingdom of Heaven or Kingdom of God, of which we read so often in the Gospels, has been simply identified with the Christian Ecclesia. This is a not unnatural deduction from some of our Lord's sayings on this subject taken by themselves; but it cannot, I think, hold its ground when the whole range of His teaching about it is comprehensively examined. We may speak of the Ecclesia as the visible representative of the Kingdom of God, or as the primary instrument of its sway, or under other analogous forms of language. But we are not justified in identifying the one with the other, so as to be able to apply directly to the Ecclesia whatever is said in the Gospels about the Kingdom of Heaven or of God.'

under which man was to dwell on the earth, and for expressing the spiritual hope of a future happiness which was offered him.

The Jew had looked forward to the establishment at some future time in the world of the visible manifestation of divine rule. His conception was more or less definitely eschatological. Parallel to this expectation the kingdom of God means that final realization of the divine rule for each individual and for mankind as a whole, which was also, and especially in St. John's Gospel, called 'eternal life.' Again and again in the Gospels the kingdom of heaven is spoken of as something which is to come. The righteous are to inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world,<sup>1</sup> they shall shine forth in the kingdom of their Father.<sup>2</sup> It is for this coming of the kingdom—that is, for the complete fulfilment of God's will—that men are to pray.<sup>3</sup> But this certainly does not exhaust the meaning of the word. The kingdom of heaven is spoken of as already having come. 'The kingdom of God is within you.'<sup>4</sup> 'From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.'<sup>5</sup> 'But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.'<sup>6</sup> In many of the parables also by which the idea of the kingdom is illustrated, it is represented as something already begun. The divine theocracy, then, can be spoken of as something already present, yet to come, a condition of affairs as yet imperfectly realized, yet looking forward to a more complete and real fulfilment hereafter. Occasionally it seems as if the imperfect condition were represented as the kingdom of the Messiah, in contrast to the complete consummation in the kingdom of God, an idea which seems to be worked out in the Epistles. 'The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling . . . then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.'<sup>7</sup> Our Lord says to the twelve, 'I appoint unto you

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxv. 34.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xiii. 43.<sup>3</sup> Matt. vi. 10.<sup>4</sup> Luke xvii. 21.<sup>5</sup> Matt. xi. 12.<sup>6</sup> Matt. xii. 28.<sup>7</sup> Matt. xiii. 41-43.

a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me.<sup>1</sup> Our Lord speaks of, and his disciples expect, His kingdom.<sup>2</sup> And these ideas seem to be interpreted by St. Paul when he says, 'Then *cometh* the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father . . . . For he must reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet.'<sup>3</sup>

Our Lord, then, was inaugurating a system of divine rule or sovereignty, as opposed both to the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of evil, a rule which was already beginning and was to lead to a great and perfect consummation in the future. This sovereignty was to consist in the sway and power of the divine law in men's hearts. 'Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness.'<sup>4</sup> The entrance into the kingdom, as it shall be, is dependent upon conforming to its laws as it now is. 'Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein.'<sup>5</sup> Now those persons in whose hearts God has power, and who have consciously accepted His rule in a complete or imperfect degree, become by so doing the subjects of a kingdom, the 'sons of the kingdom'<sup>6</sup>; and the thought of such a body of men bound together by accepting common laws suggests at once the idea of a Society.

A closer investigation corroborates this impression. A whole series of expressions are used which have a meaning only in relation to a Society. Our Lord speaks of the 'great' and the 'least' in the kingdom of heaven.<sup>7</sup> 'He that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.'<sup>8</sup> It is something that people 'attain to' and 'enter into.'<sup>9</sup> It may be closed against others, and men may be cast out from it. St. Peter is said to have the keys of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>10</sup> Of the Pharisees it is said, 'Ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye enter not in yourselves, neither

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxii. 29, cf. Luke xii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xx. 21; Luke xxiii. 42, xxii. 30.

<sup>3</sup> I Cor. xv. 24, 25. On this subject see Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 133, 134; Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, pp. 54 sq., 71 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. vi. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Mark x. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xiii. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. v. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Matt. xi. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. v. 20; vii. 21; xix. 23; xxi. 31; Luke xviii. 24, 25.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. xvi. 19.

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suffer ye them that are entering in to enter.'<sup>1</sup> Now in some cases these expressions clearly refer to the future manifestation of the kingdom, but in other cases they as clearly do not; and whatever type of Society they may suggest, and although there is obviously an element of metaphor in many of the expressions, they do imply the entrance into a condition in which men will be associated with others as recognizing the sovereignty of God, and having the privileges thus conferred.

A similar conception is implied in the passages which represent our Lord as a new lawgiver. Moses had given a series of laws for the old theocracy, which were accepted as the direct revelation of the Almighty. It is one of the most startling points in the claim of our Lord, that He took upon Himself to give a completely new code, which was a natural development of the old system, but was entirely to supersede it, and was definitely contrasted with it. It is conceivable that the laws might represent only what everyone must obey or conform to in whose heart God's sovereignty is acknowledged. But we find on examining them that they imply not only the relation of a man in his heart towards God, not only the relation of men to the world as apart from God, but also a special relation to others who are in the same peculiar relation to God, and who are designated as 'brethren.' When our Lord gives the series of regulations about being angry with a brother and so on, He is conceiving that those whom He addresses, and who are to obey the laws of the theocracy, will be members of the kingdom, bearing definite fraternal relations with other members of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

The mysteries of the kingdom were most clearly expounded by our Lord in a long series of parables. Some of these represent the privileges of the kingdom, others the duties; others again seem to represent it as a society in which good and evil are mingled together, a society such as a visible Church must be. In the Parable of the Tares, the kingdom of heaven is represented as consisting of good and evil men living together in the world undistinguishable, or at any rate with difficulty distinguishable, at present from one

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 22; vii. 3, 4, 5; xviii. 15, 21, 35.



another. Out of these, described as the kingdom of the Son, the evil will be plucked at the end of the world, and in the purified kingdom of the Father the good will shine forth as the sun.<sup>1</sup> A similar idea is suggested by the Parable of the Draw-net.<sup>2</sup> Two more parables remain to be considered. In the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, the external and internal growth of the kingdom is pictured. The most obvious interpretation that can be given to them is that while the one represents the silent and secret growth of ideas in men's hearts, the other pictures it as a great and visible society growing in the world like a great tree seen of all men, and capable of giving rest and shelter under its branches.<sup>3</sup>

The roots of the divine theocracy in the Old Testament were a Society; the word adopted to express our Lord's teaching inevitably suggests men joined together as subjects of a king: the expressions used are evacuated of much of their meaning if no Christian Society were contemplated. This Society was not identical with the kingdom, but was part of the means by which the kingdom was realized; but the language used by our Lord implies that He conceived of His followers as united together within a Society in which they should receive some of the privileges which He promised, and exercise the righteousness which He enjoined, and that this Society is represented by the Christian Church.

It has often been remarked on as strange that an expression which is used with such frequency in the Gospels as the 'kingdom' should be found so little in other books of the New Testament, and it may throw some light on our subject if we investigate this point briefly. Our Lord used this expression in order to impart His teaching because it was the current popular idea among the Jews. They expected the Messiah; they expected that He would inaugurate the kingdom. Jesus came as the Messiah, and told the Jews what the kingdom meant. So long as the Gospel was addressed only to Jews the expression would be adequate and valuable, but when the disciples began to preach to Gentiles it was necessary to interpret it. Further than that, there was even a certain

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 24-30, 36-43.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xiii. 47-50.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiii. 31-33.

amount of danger attached to the use of it. It was quite capable of being misinterpreted to mean that Christianity implied a political revolution.<sup>1</sup>

Now most of the books of the New Testament were written for Gentile readers, and therefore in most of them the process of interpretation has begun. The Synoptic Gospels, being as they profess to be, historical records of our Lord's teaching, generally preserve the original phraseology, and this is very strong evidence of their authenticity. The remaining books interpret, and it is interesting to observe the manner in which the idea of the kingdom is dissolved into its different elements. In St. John's Gospel the idea most prominent is that of 'eternal life,' which expresses in more modern phraseology one of the most fundamental thoughts included under the teaching of the kingdom. But it is noticeable here how exactly St. John preserves the meaning of our Lord, for 'life' with him means not merely something which is to be gained hereafter, but something which is enjoyed now, just as the kingdom is something which is inaugurated now, although its complete consummation will only come hereafter. 'He that believeth hath eternal life.'<sup>2</sup> 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.'<sup>3</sup> But again the kingdom meant the sway of God's laws in men's hearts, and as such it was represented and interpreted by the great Pauline idea of 'righteousness.'<sup>4</sup> 'Seek ye first,' said our Lord, 'God's kingdom and his righteousness.'<sup>5</sup> 'The kingdom of God,' said St. Paul, 'is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.'<sup>6</sup> But then again the kingdom of heaven carried on and reasserted the idea involved in the old theocracy, of the people of God, those who were bound together as the subjects of His laws, and for that reason attached to Him and separated from the rest of the world. As such it found its interpretation in the spiritual Israel, the Christian Church.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts xvii. 7 with 1 Thess. ii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> John vi. 47.

<sup>3</sup> John vi. 54.

<sup>4</sup> See 'St. Paul's Equivalent for the "Kingdom of Heaven,"' by W. Sanday, D.D., in *Journal of Theological Studies*, i. 481, July 1900.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. vi. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Rom. xiv. 17.

And just as eternal life was something which was partly realized in this life, although the fulness was only to come hereafter, just as the righteousness of earth is only a faint picture of the righteousness in heaven, so the Christian Church, imperfect upon earth, will only attain its completion hereafter. All these ideas alike reflect this characteristic of the Kingdom or Sovereignty of God that it was to be partially realized on earth, but was to wait for its fuller consummation in the heavens.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

If our Lord intended to form a religious society, in what sense and to what extent did He help in the realization of this idea? Now it is quite clear that He did not directly found the Church. History shows, and theology has always taught, that this was the work of the Apostles. But all His actions were calculated to lead to this result. He collected around Himself a body of disciples,<sup>2</sup> who had obeyed His command to follow Him. In attachment to His person He gave them a principle of union. More than this, He selected

<sup>1</sup> See *Regnum Dei*, p. 98. 'The Church stands in a more direct relation to the Mediatorial Kingdom of Christ; but here, too, the two things are not convertible; the Church is an instrument, the chief instrument, of the Reign of Christ, it is its principal sphere, and aims at worthily embodying it in the sight of men. The Kingdom of God is not simply an idea, nor simply an institution, but a Life, and of that Life—the Christian Life—the Church is the nurse and home.'

It may be pointed out that the great defect of so many explanations of the 'Kingdom of Heaven' is that they are too partial. Harnack sees only the rule over men's hearts, Loisy only 'eternal life,' St. Augustine the Church. The 'Kingdom' is something bigger and wider, and encloses all these ideas.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 19, 20. 'Wherever we find disciples and discipleship in the Gospels, there we are dealing with what was a direct preparation for the founding of the Ecclesia. We all know how much more this word "disciples" sometimes means in the Gospels than admiring and affectionate hearers, though that forms a part of it; how a closer personal relation is further involved in it, for discipleship takes various forms and passes through various stages. Throughout there is devotion to the Lord, found at last to be no mere superior Rabbi, but a true Lord of the spirit; and along with and arising out of this devotion there is a growing sense of brotherhood between disciples.'

twelve to be His particular companions. To these He gave a commission which clearly implies an extension of their work, after He was taken away from them; He gave them spiritual authority and position in His community.

Our Lord is clearly represented as collecting around Himself a body of 'disciples,' who were attached to Him in a peculiar sense, and are contrasted with the crowds of mere hearers who followed Him only for a time.<sup>1</sup> We have no definite information as to their number, nor as to what constituted the special attributes of discipleship. But they were probably never very numerous. It is true that we are told in the Fourth Gospel, in a passage which suggests that baptism was the external sign of discipleship, that Jesus at the beginning of His ministry made and baptized more disciples than John;<sup>2</sup> but later we are told in the same Gospel that many of His disciples left him.<sup>3</sup> The highest definite number in the Gospels is that of the seventy mentioned in St. Luke<sup>4</sup>—an incident which, although it has little authority, there does not seem to be any particular reason for doubting. The number of names mentioned in the Acts after the Ascension is one hundred and twenty,<sup>5</sup> assembled in Jerusalem, and St. Paul records an appearance of our Lord to over five hundred brethren at once.<sup>6</sup> Nor apart from these numbers is there any reason to regard the number of declared adherents during His earthly life as large. He raised waves of popular enthusiasm, but they were transient. Much of His teaching was difficult to understand, and in fact absolutely deterrent. He seemed to try to prevent men from coming to Him too easily, for He sifted and tried them. No man who was not prepared to bear his own cross could be His disciple.<sup>7</sup>

But if the number may be doubtful, the condition of discipleship is clear. It is attachment to Himself. 'And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said unto him: One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. xiii. 36; xiv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> John vi. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Acts i. 15.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> John iv. i.

<sup>4</sup> Luke x. i.

<sup>7</sup> Luke xiv. 27.

follow me.'<sup>1</sup> 'Then Jesus said to his disciples, If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.'<sup>2</sup> 'Follow me'<sup>3</sup> is, in fact, the constantly recurring note. Those who confess Him, He will confess before His Father in heaven.<sup>4</sup> Those who are not offended in Him are blessed.<sup>5</sup> Men are called upon to leave all their possessions for His name's sake.

To those thus attached to His person He gives special rules of life, and He makes His name a bond of union among them. He addressed them as His flock. 'Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.'<sup>6</sup> After His death His followers will continue as a Society bound together in His name, hated and persecuted of others.<sup>7</sup> Although at present His followers consist of Jews, He contemplates the inclusion of Gentiles as well, and the exclusion of many of the Jews. 'Many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven: but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness.'<sup>8</sup> 'The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.'<sup>9</sup> 'The gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world.'<sup>10</sup> Our Lord is, in fact, clearly represented as attaching to Himself a body of followers whom He expects to continue and to add to their number after He is taken away from them.

But besides the general body of His disciples, and selected from among them, He appoints twelve chosen followers. The name by which they were generally known was 'the Twelve'; they appear to be called Apostles in connexion with the special mission on which they were sent out in our Lord's lifetime. If they were originally chosen for this special work, St. Mark also tells us that they were chosen to be in a peculiar sense the companions of their Master; and the whole course of the narrative makes it clear that this was the primary purpose of their selection. After the death of

<sup>1</sup> Mark x. 21.<sup>2</sup> Mark viii. 34; Matt. xvi. 24; Luke ix. 23.<sup>3</sup> Matt. ix. 9.<sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 32.<sup>5</sup> Matt. xi. 6.<sup>6</sup> Luke xii. 32.<sup>7</sup> Matt. xxiv. 9.<sup>8</sup> Matt. viii. 11, 12; Luke xiii. 28, 29.<sup>9</sup> Matt. xxi. 43.<sup>10</sup> Matt. xxiv. 14.

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our Lord, when they undertook the further missionary labours which they gradually realized were their duty, the name 'Apostle' became more and more common, but still the only distinctive name was 'the Twelve.' Normally during our Lord's lifetime they were not in any real sense Apostles, and when they undertook the work of Apostles after His death they shared the name with others. Most commonly, however, they were simply called the 'disciples,' and it is often difficult to say whether by this word is meant the 'Twelve' only or the whole body of our Lord's followers.<sup>1</sup>

In estimating the meaning and importance of this act, it may be convenient to notice first the result. Jesus chose a small number of followers to be attached to His person; they were His constant companions at times when no one else was present; they or some of them were the witnesses, and therefore able to be the narrators, of all that He did, the hearers of all His discourses; they were the recipients also of special instruction and explanation. They were thus, we may believe, trained by Him to carry on the message which He had come to deliver.<sup>2</sup> After His death they take their natural place at the head of the young community; they become the first preachers of the Gospel, and in a sense the rulers of the early Church. And this latter position comes naturally from the commission and authority they had received from our Lord.

He gave them a commission not confined to work during His own lifetime. A time will come when they shall be hated by all men for His name's sake, when they shall be

<sup>1</sup> On the significance of the names used, see Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 22-29. [*οἱ ἀπόστολοι* occurs as follows: in St. Matthew once only (Matt. x. 2), in St. Mark once (Mark vi. 30) or perhaps twice (Mark iii. 14, W. H.)—all these in relation to the special mission—in St. Luke six times (vi. 13, ix. 10, xi. 49, xvii. 5, xxii. 14, xxiv. 10); *οἱ δώδεκα* (*οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι*, or *οἱ δώδεκα μάθηται*) in St. Matthew eight times, in St. Mark ten times, in St. Luke seven times, in St. John four times; *οἱ ἑνδεκα* occurs four times. *οἱ μάθηται* is of constant occurrence, but very often there is no criterion as to whether it refers to 'the Twelve,' or to a larger body of the disciples. We know only that in certain cases where in one Gospel we have only the 'disciples,' it is limited in a parallel passage to 'the Twelve.' Cf. Matt. xiv. 15 with Luke ix. 12.

<sup>2</sup> This is worked out at length in *Pastor Pastorum* by the Rev. Henry Latham.



brought before synagogues and sanhedrins and rulers and kings for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles, but the Spirit of the Father shall speak through them. They have learnt the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and what they now learn in secret they shall proclaim upon the house-tops; for the gospel of the kingdom is to be preached to the whole world. It is quite clear that these directions look forward to something very different from the temporary mission on which the Apostles were sent in our Lord's lifetime.<sup>1</sup>

He gave them authority when He gave the power of binding and loosing. First of all to St. Peter He is represented as saying, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven.'<sup>2</sup> Then again He repeats the words in a discourse addressed to 'the disciples'—whether the Twelve or a larger number we are not told<sup>3</sup>—while in St. John's Gospel we have a similar commission after the Resurrection again given to 'the disciples.' 'Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained.'<sup>4</sup>

The meaning of 'binding' and 'loosing' seems to be clear.<sup>5</sup> It meant the authority of legislation such as was claimed by

<sup>1</sup> See Matt. x. 16 *sq.*, xxiv. 9 *sq.*; Luke xii. 1-12. St. Matthew collects together, as his manner is, directions to the Apostles, which (as the other evangelists suggest) must have been given on various occasions, and certainly imply much more than the temporary mission on which the Apostles were sent. Cf. Mark vi. 7-13; Luke x. 1-16.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> John xx. 23.

<sup>5</sup> By far the best discussion of these words seems to be that in Dalman, pp. 214, 216. 'The terms *δέειν* and *λύειν* used in Matthew can be referred only to *מסר* and *פטר* in Aramaic. . . . These are the technical forms for the verdict of a doctor of the law who pronounces something as "bound," *i.e.* "forbidden," or else as "loosed," *i.e.* "permitted"—not, of course, in virtue of his own absolute authority, but in conformity with his knowledge of the oral law. Consequently the statement of Jesus would mean that His disciples—in virtue of their knowledge of His oral teaching—will be able to give an authoritative decision in regard to what the adherents of the theocracy may do and may not do. . . . The application which is given in John xx. 23 to this saying is not unwarranted. For exclusion from the community on account of some offence includes the "retaining" of the sins; the readmission of the sinner includes the "remission" of his sins.'

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the Rabbis, the power of saying what was right and what was wrong. This would necessarily imply both the power of exercising discipline in the community, and also the power, dependent upon this, of regulating admission into the community and rejection from it. As to the exact theological form of the command, that does not concern us here; the importance of the passage is that our Lord is clearly represented as giving first to Peter, then to other members of the community (whether the Twelve or the whole body of the disciples) definite legislative power such as must imply a religious community.

To the commission of preaching and to the authority that He gives, our Lord clearly adds a position of dignity in the new community. The position ascribed to St. Peter has, as is natural, caused very great difficulty, but there is no need to suppose that the passage means anything but what it appears to do, nor is it legitimate to evade the difficulty by a theory of interpolation. It means that Peter, who best understood his Master, who had realized most fully the meaning of discipleship, was to be the one on whom in a particular way the new community was to be built up, and also that he in the first place, as others with him, was to have control, discipline, and teaching. In fact, it means that he was to fill exactly the position which according to the history in the Acts he did fill. He had no authority in any way different in character from that of the other Apostles; it was not implied or intended that he should have any successor to his personal position, nor that any particular place was to inherit his position. The words mean precisely what they say, and it is as illegitimate to deny or evade that meaning as to read into them what they do not contain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dalman, p. 216. 'In the same sense, Peter (Matt. xvi. 19) has the keys of the theocracy, and, as keeper of the keys, is the fully authorised steward of the house of God upon earth. Since, moreover, it is the community of Jesus that is here concerned, in which Peter is to exercise this office, and as no sort of limitation to a defined sphere is indicated, it follows necessarily that the control of teaching and of discipline are regarded as entrusted to him. Peter had just shown that he understood his Master better than the others. He, therefore, shall it be, who will one day assume in the fellowship that position which Jesus then occupied in relation

A similar position is assigned to all the Apostles. It is true that our Lord more than once rebukes claims and struggles for precedence, but that is only to emphasize the great Christian truth that all rank in the Christian Church means not new privileges but greater opportunities of service. It is an ethical truth not confined to ecclesiastical position and not interfering with ecclesiastical office, but emphasizing the fact that all who are in a position of authority must act for the good of others and not their own exaltation. To quote such words of our Lord against ecclesiastical position is no more rational than to quote them against temporal sovereignty. He is represented as addressing to the Twelve the following words: 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'<sup>1</sup> The particular form of expression in these words must of course be taken as metaphorical, as in the case of other passages couched in the language of Jewish expectation, but they clearly indicate for the Twelve a position of honour and privilege. It is quite in harmony with the position that they had held as His intimate disciples, with other promises which He had made to them, and with the positions the Apostles afterwards occupied in the Christian Church.

Let us sum up our position so far. Our Lord came to found the kingdom of God which was expected by the Jews. While their expectations were mainly of a temporal rule and of material abundance, He continually emphasizes that the responsibilities and blessings which it implies are purely spiritual, and that the theocracy which He founds is one inde-

to His disciples.' Hort, p. 20. 'It was the strength, so to speak, of St. Peter's discipleship which enabled him, leading the other eleven disciples and in conjunction with them, to be a foundation on which fresh growths of the Ecclesia could be built.' It is interesting to compare what Schmiedel writes (*Encyc. Bibl.* iii. 3104). 'To judge by the connection with vv. 15-17, by binding and loosing is meant the non-forgiveness and forgiveness of sins . . . In such a sense the word is, in the mouth of Jesus, impossible.'

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxii. 28-30.

pendent of worldly sovereignty. Yet He uses language which implies that it is a Society, lays down for it a new code of laws, and suggests that He foresees its future extension in the world. The preparation for such a Society He Himself made by collecting around Him a body of disciples bound by the closest ties of personal adherence, out of whom He selected twelve who were to be in an especial way teachers and rulers. In other words, He looked forward to and prepared for the founding of the Church.

### III.

So far, we have based our argument not on special passages which by their unique character might be thought to be of doubtful authenticity (although we have quoted such in illustration or corroboration of our theories), but on two fundamental ideas of the Gospel narrative, the kingdom and discipleship, and have shown how in our opinion these imply the foundation of the Church. But in one passage in St. Matthew's Gospel, which stands alone, our Lord definitely says that He will build up a Church. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.'<sup>1</sup> We must now examine this crucial passage, which we have reserved until we were in a better position to discuss it. We have, we believe, good reason for finding the thought in our Lord's teaching; did He also give it its name?

The word *ecclesia*<sup>2</sup> occurs in two places in St. Matthew's

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvi. 18 : *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*

<sup>2</sup> In a note in the last number of this Review (No. 117, p. 38) we discussed the history of the word *ἐκκλησία*, so far as regards the Hebrew and the LXX. As an assistance to the interpretation of the term as used by our Lord we have now to investigate the Aramaic usage. This is more difficult, and so far as we know has not been attempted. What follows must be regarded as purely tentative.

For Aramaic usage we must content ourselves at present with the evidence of the Targum of Onkelos. In this the Hebrew *qahal* (קהל) is regularly translated by *qehala* (ܩܗܠܐ) (Gen. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 4, xlix. 6; Ex. xii. 6, xvi. 3; Lev. iv. 13, 14, 21, xvi. 17; Num. x. 7, xiv. 5, xvi. 3, 33, xvii. 12, xx. 4; Deut. v. 19, ix. 10, x. 4, xviii. 16, xxxi. 30), while *'edah* is equally regularly translated by *kenishtha* (ܟܢܝܫܬܐ) (Ex. xii.

Gospel, and it will be convenient to take the less important first.

'And if thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy

3, 6, 47; xvi. 1, 2, 9, 10; xvii. 1, xxxv. 4, 20; xvi. 22; Lev. iv. 13, 15, 34, viii. 3, 4, 5; ix. 5; x. 6; xvi. 5, xix. 2; xxiv. 14, 16, xxxii. 2; Num. i. 2, 53; viii. 9, 20; xiii. 26; xiv. 1, 2, 5, 7, 35, xv. 24, 25, 26, 33; xvi. 3 *sqq.*, xvii. 3 *sqq.*, xxv. 6, xxvii. 17, xxxi. 16). The word '*edhak*' is not used apparently in Palestinian Aramaic in any form. It may be reasonably concluded that the original in the Gospels was either *gehala* or *kenishta*; which it was it is more difficult to say.

We cannot decide *a priori*, because, as has been already pointed out, *qahal* and '*edhak*' in the Old Testament have no distinctive difference of meaning. This is particularly the case in the Pentateuch, where the difference depends upon the document used, and either *gehala* or *kenishta* might be used for the assembly of Israel in its ideal aspect.

But two or three considerations suggest that the original word was *kenishta*. (1) The meaning of Matt. xviii. 15-20 is given on p. 277, and it is suggested that there is an intimate connexion between *ekklesia* in verse 17 and *συναγόμενοι* in verse 20. Now the only word corresponding to *συνάγειν* in the Targum is *kanas* (כנש), the Hebrew verb *qahal* (קהל) being never used. If *kenishta* were used in verse 17 and some form of *kanas* in verse 20 the connexion of thought suggested above becomes clear. It is, of course, quite true that we cannot be certain that this is implied, and it has been argued that the passage is a composite one, but at any rate our exegesis is more likely to be correct if we give a coherent meaning to a difficult passage.

(2) If we pass to xvi. 18, we have less to guide us, but we may notice that the metaphor of *οικοδομήσω* is a natural Old Testament one, but that in most passages where it occurs the metaphor is kept up in the object; in the Old Testament we have such phrases as *οικοδομεῖν Σιών*, *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, *τὴν πόλιν μου*, but not *οικοδομεῖν Ἰσραήλ*: the natural word to expect in the passage of our Lord was one which was at any rate associated with the idea of a building, and *kenishta*, or perhaps *bee-kenishta* (בֵּי כְנִישְׁתָּא), 'the house of assembly,' would answer this requirement.

(3) If *kenishta* had been the word originally used in Aramaic by the early Christian community it would be easier to understand the possibility of the word *συναγωγή* being used (as in James ii. 2) occasionally in Greek, while it would be equally natural that opposition to Judaism and perhaps Greek influence would make *ἐκκλησία* the predominant form.

(4) It is certainly curious that the old Syriac in Matt. xviii. 17 translates *ἐκκλησία* by *kenushta* (ܟܢܫܬܐ) and not by '*idhta*' (ܝܕܬܐ), which latter became the regular word in Syriac for a Christian church, as opposed to a synagogue, the two words being used as in English.

Burkitt (F. C.), *Evangelion-da-Mepharreshe*, pp. 274, 275.

brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the *ecclesia*: and if he refuse to hear the *ecclesia* also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, what things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.<sup>1</sup>

There has been much doubt—much legitimate doubt—as to the actual condition of affairs to which this passage refers. But it may be suggested, although there is a strong weight of authority on the other side, that if the whole passage be taken together it is not compatible with a reference to any Jewish assembly. The verses immediately following are intended to justify an act of exclusion from the community by the authority of those addressed; the next two verses again describe certain privileges of a Christian assembly. It is difficult to be clear as to what Aramaic word may be here translated, but the expression used of the 'two or three gathered together' suggests that it was a word expressing a 'gathering together' or 'assembly.' Our Lord is describing the rights of an assembly of the brethren, and the duties of the individual disciple. He is to try himself to win an erring brother; he is to use the influence of two or three friends; if that fail, he is to bring it before the assembly or meeting of the brethren, even if it be a small one. The decision of that body must be accepted, for it has the

As a result of this investigation it seems a reasonable conclusion that our Lord used what was quite the most natural word in these passages—*kenishta*—and that in using it He could mean either the actual assembly of a body of his followers or the ideal assembly corresponding to the ideal assembly of the whole people of Israel; see for example, Num. i. 2, 'the congregation of the children of Israel.'

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xviii. 15-20. The original in the crucial passages is:

17. εἰν δὲ παρακούσῃ αὐτῶν, εἰπὼν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· εἰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἴστω σοι ὡσπερ ὁ ἔθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελῶνης. . . .

20. οὐ γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἑμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσφ αὐτῶν.

power of judgment, of legislation, and of excommunication. More than that, it represents a spiritual and divine reality. Even if two or three brethren meet together in Christ's name, He is with them. Our Lord's word, whatever it was, would obviously be vague—'assembly' or 'meeting' or 'congregation'; it would naturally be translated as *ecclesia*, the term which early began to be used of the Christian assembly.

The second passage is more important, and has been already referred to:

'And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my *ecclesia*; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'<sup>1</sup>

We are again in difficulties, because we do not know what word was used in the original, but the meaning of the passage is clear. We have already seen how the Jewish people might be spoken of as the 'Israel of God,' 'the congregation of the Most High,' 'the congregation of the children of Israel.' Our Lord is clearly announcing His intention of building in its place, or as a continuation of it, 'the congregation of the Messiah.' He might, as has been pointed out, speak of it as His Israel or His people, but neither term was quite adequate, and so He uses another expression, which had the authority of the Scriptures and of devout phraseology, and which might describe the ideal assembly of Israel.<sup>2</sup> This expression was translated by a Greek word which had more and more come to be used in

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Hort, pp. 10, 11. 'The congregation of God, which held so conspicuous a place in the ancient Scriptures, is assuredly what the disciples could not fail to understand as the foundation of the meaning of a sentence which was indeed for the present mysterious. If we may venture for a moment to substitute the name Israel, and read the words as 'on this rock I will build my Israel,' we gain an impression which supplies at least an approximation to the probable sense. The Ecclesia of the ancient Israel was the Ecclesia of God; and now, having been confessed to be God's Messiah, nay His Son, He could to such hearers without risk of grave misunderstanding claim that Ecclesia as His own.'

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this ideal sense, and which was rapidly appropriated to itself by the Christian Church, as representing one of the most striking sayings of our Lord.<sup>1</sup>

If our interpretation, then, of these two passages be correct, our Lord, while not giving any formal rules or enactments, had spoken of an assembly of Christians as a spiritual body, with authority of legislation and discipline, and had referred to the whole body of those who hereafter were to be called in His name in language used to describe the ideal assembly of Israel, the people of God. He had thus suggested the use of a word which many tendencies at the time made peculiarly appropriate for Christian purposes.

#### IV.

So far we have confined our attention almost exclusively to the first three Gospels, in deference to the theory which

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to remind our readers that this passage is very commonly rejected as unauthentic, and that for reasons mainly *a priori*. Dr. Schmiedel among other reasons regards the use of the word *ecclesia* as an argument against it. But a moment's reflection will show how little there is in this. It is quite certain that our Lord did not use the word *ecclesia*, but some Aramaic term which was naturally translated in accordance with Christian usage, and such a term was quite easily supplied by the Old Testament and current theological phraseology. The following reasons may be given for thinking the passage as a whole genuine:

(1) The phraseology throughout is not Greek, but Aramaic; it must therefore go back to the early period of the Gospel writing. Proofs of this may be seen at length in Dalman's discussion of the various expressions.

(2) It could not have been interpolated at any late date (say in the second century, as has been suggested), for 'the manner in which St. Peter's name enters into the language about the building of Messiah's *ecclesia* could not be produced by any view respecting his office which was current in the Second Century.' (Hort, p. 9.)

(3) If it is conceivable that it was written to justify the authority of St. Peter in the first days of the Church, it is much more conceivable that words such as these spoken to him by our Lord led to his occupying that position.

(4) 'The application of the term *ἐκκλησία* by the Apostles is much easier to understand if it was founded on an impressive saying of our Lord.' (Hort, p. 9.)



would see in them a more correct representation of our Lord's teaching. That this view is true as regards style and language there can be no doubt, for in St. John's Gospel the discourses are clearly translated into the manner of expression of a later date. But so far as regards the matter, it may well be doubted whether the Fourth Gospel is less original. The difference of the tradition that it contains may arise from the deeper spiritual insight and perception of the Apostle who reported it; and it is quite possible that there are passages in the Synoptists where we may suspect that our Lord's meaning has been obscured by a confusion with current Jewish thought. Now the word *ecclesia* is completely absent from the whole Gospel. There is not a sign of later phraseology, but on the other hand there is a very definite and clear exposition of all the spiritual principles which are presupposed in the idea of a Church.

These ideas are the mutual relationship of love and service between the members of the Church, their spiritual union with their Master, their union in the one fold, and the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit. A lesson of humility was given when He washed the disciples' feet.

'If I then, the Lord and the Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. . . . Verily, verily I say unto you, A servant is not greater than his lord; neither one that is sent greater than he that sent him.'<sup>1</sup> . . . 'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.'<sup>2</sup>

The Parable of the Vine and the Branches expresses very fully the spiritual union between Christ and His Church.

'I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered . . . If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you.'<sup>3</sup>

The Parable of the Good Shepherd represents the union in one flock.

<sup>1</sup> John xiii. 14, 16.

<sup>2</sup> John xiii. 34, 35.

<sup>3</sup> John xv. 5-7.

'I am the good shepherd ; and I know mine own, and mine own know me . . . . And other sheep I have which are not of this fold : them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice ; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd.'<sup>1</sup>

The Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, will come ; He will remain with them always, He will guide them into all truth, He will bear witness of Christ, and bring to their remembrance all things that He had said. The disciples were not to be left desolate.<sup>2</sup> And all the purpose of Jesus seems to be summed up in the last great prayer :

'I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world : thine they were, and thou gavest them to me ; and they have kept thy word. . . . I pray for them : I pray not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me. . . . I have given them thy word ; and the world hated them, because they are not of the world. . . . Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word ; that they may all be one ; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us : that the world may believe that thou didst send me.'<sup>3</sup>

The small Society, chosen to be with Jesus, taught by Him, united with Him, but hated by the world ; destined to expand in the future into the greater Society, and one with it in the spiritual union of Christ and the Father—here we have the representation of the spiritual ideas implied in the growth of the Christian Church.<sup>4</sup>

There is the same relation between these thoughts and those of the Synoptic Gospels that we find in other cases. Certain ideas which in them appear in a somewhat inconspicuous form are here developed and expanded. The form of expression is different ; they are more spiritual in conception, but they imply the same purpose. Broad principles which lie at the basis of Church life are laid down—principles which we find developed and expanded in St. Paul's writings, and which do much to account for his ideas. If St. John's Gospel had simply reflected the teaching of the first half of the second century, we should expect to find some trace of later

<sup>1</sup> John x. 14-16.

<sup>2</sup> John xiv. 16-18, 26 ; xv. 26, 27 ; xvi. 7-14.

<sup>3</sup> John xvii. 6-21.

<sup>4</sup> See Hort, pp. 30-32.

ideas and phraseology, but there is no trace of any such. Not a single technical term of the later Christian Church enables us to declare these discourses to be anachronisms. There is nothing our Lord might not have said, and a great deal said in just the way that we may believe that He would have said it. At any rate, the Fourth Gospel equally with the others represents Him as teaching in a way which was calculated to lead to the foundation and building up of a spiritual Society. It represents a spiritual Church as part of our Lord's plan.

### V.

There are two great Christian institutions, both claiming to have arisen from the direct command of our Lord, which have an intimate bearing on our investigation—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They are clearly in their essence social rites, and imply the idea of a Society; and recent critics (consistently with their conception of our Lord's teaching) have doubted the commonly received opinions concerning their origin.<sup>1</sup>

It is of course true that there is little said about baptism in the Gospel narrative, but what is said is of great significance. Our Lord taught little about baptism, because it was a rite which He adopted and did not institute. Baptism for the remission of sins was instituted and preached by the Baptist. By being baptized Himself, Jesus expressed His adhesion to it, and it is unnatural to suppose that after accepting it in His own Person He would not consider it necessary for His followers. Many of those who came to Him had already been the disciples of the Baptist, and would have been baptized by him. Nor do the Gospels, as a rule, trouble to repeat what has already been described. They had given an account of the institution of baptism, and that is sufficient. Any of their readers, looking on baptism, as they would, as one of the normal conditions of Christian life, would have assumed the continuity of a custom, and would desire not a repetition of what had already been described but information on other points. But

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 260.

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that baptism was an institution adopted by our Lord is a reasonable inference from what has already been said, and from the fact that the disciples at the very beginning of their preaching (so far as our information goes) seem spontaneously to have made it part of the system of the new community. There is no institution the universality and acceptance of which are clearer; and it is difficult to believe that this would have been at once the case if it had not been already part of the usual practice of the Apostles.

In harmony with this St. John's Gospel gives just sufficient evidence of the attitude of our Lord.

'After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judæa; and there he tarried with them, and baptized. And John also was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were baptized. . . . And they came unto John, and said to him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou hast borne witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him.<sup>1</sup> . . . When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John (although Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples), he left Judæa, and departed again into Galilee.'<sup>2</sup>

Now it is quite conceivable that this incident may have been recorded for some reason connected with later disputes about the relation of our Lord to John the Baptist. The baptism of Jesus was not a new institution, but the old institution of John the Baptist with a new and deeper meaning given to it, and, as we know from the Acts, the older form of the rite continued. But that is no sufficient reason for doubting the truth of the incident. It proves that there were the two apparently rival institutions, the origin of which has to be explained. The statement also that our Lord Himself did not baptize is not one which makes us inclined to doubt the writer's testimony. We have in the same Gospel another passage in which it is difficult not to see a reference to baptism:

'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . . Verily, verily, I say unto thee,

<sup>1</sup> John iii. 22-26.

<sup>2</sup> John iv. 1 2.

except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'<sup>1</sup>

It is significant that in this passage the expression 'kingdom of God,' which is the only one our Lord would have used, has been retained, and has not been interpreted as it is elsewhere in the Gospel. The words give the theological basis which is necessary to explain the custom of the primitive Church. Our Lord had adopted baptism as the rite of admission to discipleship, and as such it was practised by the disciples themselves after His death.

Christian practice combines with historical tradition to explain the position and purpose of the Lord's Supper. If our Lord did not give a command for its repetition, why was it that the Christian Church began at once to repeat it? It may be that the words 'This do in remembrance of Me' are an interpretative addition, but the command interprets ideas contained in the actions of our Lord. The Passover was in a unique degree the rite of the old Covenant. It was bound up with all the memories of the past; it reminded those who partook of it of the privileges of Israel. To share in it was, with circumcision, the peculiar sign of being an Israelite. It was at the time when people's minds were full of the ideas of the paschal festival that Jesus celebrated the Last Supper. He described it as a Covenant rite; spoke of His Blood which was shed as in a Covenant sacrifice, and His Body which was eaten as the sacrificial meal was eaten. His hearers could draw no other deduction than that He was instituting the rite of a new Covenant which they were to repeat as the Passover was repeated. No lamb had been eaten, for it was not the Passover; but a body given in sacrifice, and wine for the blood poured out as the symbol of a covenant, were appointed instead to be the sacrificial meal. The idea of a new rite for a new society became permanent.

## VI.

We may now sum up our argument. The times were ripe for that form of religious society which we call a Church.

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The Jewish nation had in it certain spiritual germs out of which such a conception might grow, but their expansion was continuously checked by narrowing restraints which prevented them from developing. Out of this Jewish society there springs the Christian *ecclesia*, with a strong conception of a spiritual union, with a rapidly developing organization, with a complete indifference to the ideal or forms of an ordinary political society. It quickly emancipates itself from all the narrow ideas of Jewish Nationalism. It refuses to confine itself to a single nation or a people. It discards all the burden of the old ordinances, and develops certain simple corporate bonds which are capable of universal acceptance. Whence did this Society arise?

Criticism such as that to which we have been obliged to refer from time to time seems to cut away from it everything out of which it could spring. The critic is so anxious to prove that the later Church created the Gospel that he forgets that something must have created the Church. The Gospel narratives, however, as we have them, give a clear and adequate cause. They represent our Lord as having enunciated the great spiritual principles out of which a Church would spring. They represent Him as teaching and acting with the plan or conception of a Society clearly before Him, but in a manner consistent with His method throughout His ministry. He did not give moral rules, but moral principles. He did not give ecclesiastical rules, but the principles which underlie Church life, and He is represented in at least one striking utterance as using an expression which may well have been the origin of the name which was adopted.

The Christian society is based upon the development of certain great principles—the idea of discipleship and brotherhood, the idea of ministry, the Sacraments. If our Lord called the disciples and bade them live in brotherly love one for another, if He founded the Apostolate, if he sanctioned Baptism and inaugurated the Eucharist, the rest follows by a natural process of development. If He did not, the growth of the Christian *ecclesia* is inexplicable. It is always difficult to prove the reality of anything against a criticism which is purely arbitrary and negative; but if we take the picture of



our Lord's teaching in the Gospels as authentic, not necessarily in minute detail but in broad outline, it becomes an adequate and true cause of all that follows, the natural and effective link between the unrealized, if spiritual, traditions of Judaism and the incipient Christian Church. The new idea had to be created. Christianity alone created it, and Christianity did so because it had learnt it from its Founder.

So far we have discussed the questions involved in this article in a purely historical spirit, but it is useless to ignore that the issue depends really not on critical but theological considerations. The question of the foundation of the Church is one only of several which are intimately connected with one another. The Gospels represent our Lord not merely as preaching the Fatherhood of God and the gift of eternal life under the name of the Kingdom, but as claiming to be Himself the centre of worship and the source of spiritual life; as attracting disciples by personal attachment to Himself; as looking forward to His death, which was to be the great sacrifice for the sins of the world; as conceiving His Church as a universal institution for the whole world; as instituting before His death a rite which was to be a remembrance of the spiritual benefits of His death. Now if He did and taught all these and other similar things, His life needs no miracles to make it miraculous. He makes supernatural claims, and the fulfilment in history of His conceptions and plans justifies these claims. His teaching, as it is represented in the Gospels, is only possible if it has an origin which is not of this world. Those, therefore, who do not accept the supernatural claims of Christ are compelled to eliminate all these elements from His teaching. It is necessary to suppose that in the Gospels we do not possess the authentic narrative of our Lord's teaching, modified it may be in detail and expression by those through whom it came, but substantially correctly reported; we really have something quite different, a certain number of original elements, transformed and almost hidden by a completely new and unhistorical conception of Christ, created by the consciousness of the Christian Church out of its own meditations and experience. We have

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attempted to deal with this problem in one only of its issues, and have tried to establish that the principles involved in the development of the Church are contained in the most fundamental teaching of Christ, that they interpret naturally the two root ideas of the kingdom and discipleship; we have also argued that on purely historical grounds the Gospel narrative gives an adequate cause of later developments, whereas the new critical school have never really succeeded in explaining how the Church grew up. In this and in other directions the Christian who still approaches Christianity with the traditional conception of Christ in his mind may begin his investigation with recognizing the fact that his belief is in accordance with the only source of knowledge concerning our Lord that we possess, and that to eliminate it means not only to cut out certain isolated passages, but to transform the spirit of the whole. And when this is done the real problem is left unsolved. To account for the rise of Christianity becomes a task of insuperable difficulty.

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## ART. II.—MISSIONS TO HINDUS.

### IV. THE METHODS (*concluded*)—THE RESULTS.

1. *Life of Father Goreh.* By C. E. GARDNER, S.S.J.E., edited, with Preface, by RICHARD MEUX BENSON, M.A., S.S.J.E., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. With portrait. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900.)
2. *A History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.* By GEORGE LONGRIDGE, of the Community of the Resurrection, sometime Vicar of Grove, Wantage. With a Preface by the Rt. Rev. EDWARD STUART TALBOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester. (London: John Murray, 1900.)
3. *Life of Alexander Duff.* By GEORGE SMITH. 2 vols. 8vo. (Edinburgh: 1879.)

BEFORE closing this series of articles by some slight estimate of results—a complete one is, for many reasons, impossible—

there is one special method of working about which we must say a few words.

The Concentrated form of Mission, about which we have written at length, has developed along different lines. One of these—the Educational Mission, as originated by Duff in Calcutta and reproduced in other places by other and lesser men—calls for special and detailed treatment.

When Duff arrived in Calcutta, in 1830, education, in any real sense, was not to be found in India. Of the total population of Bengal, the most civilized province in the country, 92½ per cent. are believed to have been absolutely illiterate. The possibility of a woman being educated had never so much as been thought of: so that, even of the more favoured sex, rather less than 4 per cent. were able to read and write. And such education as there was among either Hindus or Mahomedans had been confined to Oriental languages and to the literary and theological classics recognized by Hinduism and Islam. How far even educated people had been touched by European ideas may be estimated from a single fact—that the first scientific conception which Duff had to communicate to his pupils was that rain was *not* to be accounted for by the spouting of a celestial elephant discharging the water from his trunk!

And even the efforts of Government to impart education to the people on the lines of their own Religions had been total failures in practice. Great editions of Indian classics, printed at the public cost, had been left on the warehouse shelves because no one would take them at a gift. Not only were the professors in the colleges paid for lecturing upon them, but the students were paid for listening, and were hardly procurable at that. The Hindus had started a college for teaching their own young men, and the favourite subjects for learning were the principles of Tom Paine's atheism, carried out to the moral results which Europe associates with them.

But if there was no education in the actual India of the day, things were absolutely ripe for its introduction; the whole atmosphere was vibrating with the thought of it. Trevelyan, in his Commissionership at Delhi, was brooding

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over plans for introducing it. His future brother-in-law, Macaulay, was Secretary to the Board of Control, and was soon to proceed to India as a member of the Supreme Council. The Governor-General of the day was no other than Lord William Bentinck, a man of the most enlightened views, ever ready for any scheme which would make for the welfare of the people. And, perhaps more important than all, the great theistic reformer, Rajah Rammohun Roy, was at work among the Brahmins of Calcutta, urging them to educate their sons, and himself initiating the work; exposing the absurdities of Hinduism, and preaching his eclectic system; stopping, alas! far short of Christianity, but forming a *præparatio evangelica* invaluable as a stepping-stone for Duff.

Into the train thus sensitively laid the great personality of the missionary fell at once like a spark from Heaven. If ever the opportunity and the man were divinely brought together, it was when Duff set foot in Calcutta. He had been shipwrecked twice on the way—once off the Cape of Good Hope, and again in the treacherous Hooghly, with its shoals and its tremendous tideway. And something of the awe-struck regard which St. Paul excited at Malta, when he shook off the snake into the fire, became associated in the native mind with this man, twice saved from the waters.

But the character of the fiery Highlander needed no supernatural halo to make it stand out before all men. Its greatness was patent at a glance. It was the privilege of the present writer to be petted at his knees as a child, and to hear his farewell sermon, in the little Free Kirk of Moulin, before his last start for Calcutta. And to-day, after half a century, there stands out clear before his mind the recollection of the spiritual intensity, the profound absorption in work, the magnetic power over hearts, the large-hearted, genial buoyancy, which appealed even to a child with the sense that his venerable friend was a very king among men.

Like all transcendent characters, he was partly the product of his age, partly the power which transformed it. The spirit of missions was abroad in the Established Church of Scotland. The opposition with which it had been met

had been not only stolid, but presumptuous—had actually ventured to utter itself, at an official meeting of a Presbytery, in the assertion that Missions to the heathen were not, in that day at least, to be regarded as part of God's plan; that His Church was under no obligation to exert herself for the conversion of the world, but was rather to acquiesce fatalistically in the present limitations of her borders. But Chalmers, with others like-minded, had triumphed over even such obstacles, and when Duff was ordained to the ministry a splendid opportunity lay open to him. He landed from his hazardous voyage not entirely, in intention at least, a free agent for the work entrusted to him, but with a spirit so autonomous and so determined that he brushed aside on the spot the only restriction laid upon him. He had been told to 'do much as he pleased, except that the city of Calcutta was *not* to be the sphere of his labours—he plunged at once into work in that city: never worked, indeed, anywhere else! For a struggle with organized Brahminism such as he was prepared to undertake he felt that there could be but one field, the metropolis of the country which it terrorized. Its official headquarters might be elsewhere; Calcutta was the centre of life, and therefore also, in the long run, of religion.

He found an ally from the first in Rajah Rammohun Roy, who lent him a room for his school. And on that room, and the school which he opened there, his work all turned as on its pivot.

His conception was a marvellously noble one. People's minds being ripe for education, he would take all the knowledge of Europe as a point of departure for the Gospel. The earliest inceptions of education should be made with Christ as their goal. All the literature, the philosophy, the science which Christian Europe had gained should be placed within the reach of Hindus, and all should lead up to Christ, 'in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.' To be an enlightened man and to be a believing Christian should be, in the minds of his pupils, the same thing from different points of view. Development, moral and spiritual—the development of Christian character under

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the guidance of the Spirit of God—should be presented to India from the first as the scope and end of education.

The idea was worthy of the man. And it seemed, for a time at least, as though the practical results were to be worthy of the idea and its originator.

The boys embarked on their schooling in a spirit of fervid enthusiasm, and many of the scruples of their parents were surmounted by Rammohun Roy. He himself, he used to tell them, had studied the sacred books of Mahomedanism and Buddhism and Christianity while yet, in point of keeping his caste, he had remained an orthodox Hindu. The missionary was too fervidly honest to make any concealment of his purpose. If he offered a European education, he offered it as a step towards the Gospel. But even so the craving for knowledge overcame all scruples for a time. The party of 'conservatism at any price' was, of course, arrayed against him. He had the honour, unique in mission history, of being threatened by Hindu alarmists with the hoisting of a quarantine flag outside the door of his lecture-room, as a warning of the danger of frequenting it. Yet frequented it continued to be. And enlightenment, and presently conversions, began to be seen among his scholars. The quality of the neophytes was undeniable. They turned out, in the ultimate result, the most uniformly satisfactory converts ever known in an Indian mission. In the early stages, indeed, the ungoverned enthusiasm of some of them—not, certainly, of the most satisfactory—produced very real embarrassments, upon which we need not dwell. But the Cross was borne by others with unflinching consistency and courage. There were terrible scenes of wailing outside the great missionary's house, as boys who were preparing for baptism withstood the impassioned entreaties of fathers and mothers and caste-fellows. There were even awful cases of the relatives of inquirers or catechumens endeavouring to save their sons from abandoning Caste for Christianity by leading them into vices so foul that it seemed as though indulgence in these would make them abhorrent to their teacher.

Had Duff been made of cast iron, or had he been superior to the weakness, so common in missionary enthusiasts, of

forgetting that after all he had a body, and that his work depended on taking care of it, there is no saying where he need have stopped. As it was, he ran himself to a standstill, so far as work in India was concerned ; though the results of his self-sacrificing labours were permanent both in Scotland and in Calcutta. The enthusiasm and the permanent interest which he continued to create at home go on to the present day. And, amid all the sordid worldliness, the mere care for material advantage, which characterize educated youth in the India of the present day, there still survives in Calcutta some veritable passion for learning, some disinterested appreciation of culture, to be found in no other of its cities ; all which have come down to the present by direct descent from Duff and from his handful of early converts.

Such was the Educational Mission in its origin and earliest inception. It has been worked by many men, in many parts of India, since Duff broke down in health and was obliged to abandon it himself. There has been no other case in which its results have been the same. Much allowance must be made, no doubt, for the difference, so often felt, between the genius and enthusiasm of a founder and the ability and earnestness of successors.

But there are weaknesses inherent in the method, even in hands such as those of Duff. To begin with, its effect upon the students can never be all that he looked for, except in a minority of cases. To that fervid servant of God to be a thoroughly cultivated man was inseparable from being a Christian. To him intellectual culture was but part of a larger whole, the spiritual character of the man. To him the end of education was 'to present every man faultless before God.' But with his students this could not be the case. A few of them were permeated with his spirit till they were led to assimilate his ideals. But, even to the average Christian, to be intellectually cultured is one thing, and to serve God fervently is another. How soon, then, must heathens have learnt that they could assimilate what Duff had to teach them of Western literature and science, and leave altogether aside their master's love for Christ !

And when such is the case with a student, what effect

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must be produced on his character by the mere intellectual assimilation of the deepest Christian truths?—for with nothing short of this did Duff imbue his pupils, at least on the intellectual side. He did not take as his model the addresses in the Acts of the Apostles, with all the reserve which obtained when the truth was being urged on non-Christians. Nothing less than the Epistles of St. Paul and the Gospel according to St. John would serve him for teaching Hindus.

Had he confined himself, in ordinary cases, to enforcing the Holiness of God, and the need of a Saviour from sin, if man is to approach such a Being; had he reserved all teaching more advanced for those who were spiritually awake to it, and could assimilate it to the saving of their souls, he had been truer to Apostolic methods and had set a less dangerous precedent.

What he actually introduced into India was a system, easy to copy in slavish adherence to detail, impossible for anyone but himself to follow with any safety. It has resulted in schools and colleges being opened all over the country, in which the bribe of a cheap education is offered to Hindu youth, to induce them to submit every day to instruction in the Christian faith, which they have not a thought of accepting. Converts have been made in them, no doubt. A Wilson in Bombay, a Millar in Madras, a Noble at Masulipatam, could not bring their powers to bear without conversions ensuing. But it is unquestionable that the results of their work have included the production, by the hundred, of men whose knowledge of Christianity has drawn them no nearer to Christ. Such are less, not more, prepared to approach Him as suitors for salvation for having learned the mysteries of the Gospel while unconscious of needing a Saviour.

Again, all these bad results have been aggravated to a terrible degree by the competition of the Government system. When Duff first started in Calcutta he was working without a rival. To-day there are Government universities in all the Presidency cities, and in other centres as well; while over the whole of India there are colleges and schools innumerable

in which all Western culture is brought within reach of the people.

Nor is this Western culture cast always, or even generally, in any Christian mould. The English professors may be Christians; they may be absolutely indifferent; they may teach dogmatic atheism. Christian teaching with proselytizing intent a British Government, it is true, could not give. If it did it would be false to its pledges, and would run the risk of exciting a rebellion. But the result of this secular system is an utter uprooting and disturbing of the religious convictions of the students, while nothing is substituted for them. It is the constant complaint of fathers that their sons are deprived of their religion, and are offered no other guidance.

In competing with colleges like these the heads of the missionary institutions are compelled, in self-defence, to try to underbid them pecuniarily. What effect is likely to be produced if a boy is set in the morning to read the Epistles of St. Paul, because by consenting to do so he will get his degree somewhat cheaper, while his teacher dare ask no questions as to which of the gods of the heathen he may worship in the afternoon?

But besides this effect on the students, there is a heavy count against the system from the point of view of the missionaries, and of those who send them out. If a young man lands in the country all on fire with missionary earnestness, and finds from his first arrival that he need learn no native language in order to communicate with his students; that the best of his time every day is occupied in teaching them for degrees; that the lesson in the Christian Religion need hardly form more than an episode in a day of secular teaching; that he can occupy the whole of his time in hard and praiseworthy work which has nothing to do with the Gospel—how long will his early enthusiasm survive this absorption of his energies?

With a Valpy French it may be different. After several years of work, as head of a school such as this, he could gravely tell a young colleague, 'I can work sixteen hours a day, but for one newly landed in India perhaps fourteen will

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be enough during this hot-weather vacation.' It is plain that secular teaching meant no interference *for him* with the spiritual side of his work. But neither the intellectual power nor the spiritual fervour of a French are to be found in the ordinary missionary.

It has often occurred to the writer as he passed some stately building, the home of a missionary college—how would those who raised it with their pence regard this goodly pile, did they realize the proportion of time which was spent within its walls on the work of evangelization, as compared with secular studies?

To the credit of the S. P. G., it has kept itself above the temptations to which other Societies have succumbed, and has refused to spend its funds on schools for secular education. It has also made strict rules for the separation of Christians from heathens in the daily instructions of its agents. We cannot say quite so much in favour of the sister Society. On the other hand the Cambridge Mission at Delhi gives a large proportion of its energies to imparting a university education, without, so far as we know, any loss of spiritual power or undue diversion of energy.

But the Oxford Mission at Calcutta seems to us to have found a solution for the problem started by Duff more nearly than any other Society. It has no college or school. It is not an educational mission. But its missionaries devote much time to the welfare of native students by helping them morally and spiritually, and even by assisting them in their studies. Hundreds of Hindu youths, from every part of the country, are thrown into the bazaars of the city and left to shift for themselves, as regards all care for their characters; till sometimes the *disrepute* of a neighbourhood is what renders it attractive as a lodging-place. To boys thus utterly uncared for the Mission opens its doors. It has established a hostel for them, where they may live the life of Hindus, only having opportunities offered them of forming acquaintance with the missionaries, and of learning, from intimacy with them, what the Christian Religion means.

Thus much of Educational Missions.

But these articles would be incomplete did we not make some attempt to estimate the results produced since the days of Xavier and his companions. How rough and how loose it must be we desire to proclaim from the beginning. Father O'Neill, of the Cowley Society, was once asked, in the hearing of the writer, what results had been produced by a Mission in an English parish. 'I will tell you at the Day of Judgment,' was the characteristic reply. Such must, to a great extent, be ours, when asked about results in India. But, so far as can be told in this world, what is there to be said on the subject?

One or two great leading considerations must be laid before our readers, preparatory to attempting an estimate. First comes the gigantic influence of heredity and age-long tradition, which, vast as it must be in any country, holds a place in the Indian equation, unsurpassed, it may be unequalled.

We have tried in previous articles to show the tremendous leverage which Hinduism exerts on individuals by the homogeneity of its system, intellectual, religious and social. We would add one or two illustrations to bring out its power over the race.

Seven centuries before the birth of Christ the Brahminical system of India had produced, or reacted into, Buddhism, a system which has often been described as dominating one-third of the world. This estimate is exaggerated, no doubt; but the fact that it should ever have been made will indicate the greatness of the daughter to whom the Hindu mother gave birth. And yet where is Buddhism in the India of to-day? It is simply an historical expression. It has no place in India proper, but only in the borderland of Thibet—and, of course, in the Province of Burma, which is not a part of India, except for political purposes.<sup>1</sup>

In the Census of the Bombay Presidency, in 1891, the Religion of Gautama Buddha was represented by a single

<sup>1</sup> The Census Returns for 1901 showed that out of a total of about nine and a half millions of Buddhists to be found within the Indian Empire, about 9,200,000 belonged to Burma; while, of the remainder, about 238,000 belonged to the Province of Bengal, including the Native States on the frontier of Thibet.

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adherent—he, no doubt, a stranger from Ceylon; for in the streets of the Presidency Town there had been seen, about that time, the masculine comb and petticoat of a travelling Cingalese trader.

The first time that the present writer visited the Caves of Karli, a gigantic Buddhist monument, older than the Christian era, there was seated within the temple, as the only worshipper visible, an ash-besmeared Hindu devotee, reciting, after the fashion of his kind, the names of his innumerable gods. The last time he visited the place, the steps of a Hindu temple, hard by the Buddhist cave, were being washed, and wiped with her hair, by a female Hindu pilgrim, while the cave was deserted altogether—a striking acted parable of the fate of the Buddhist religion in the country which gave it birth. The problem is yet unsolved how Brahminism secured its victory. Did it exterminate the adherents of Buddhism, or did it absorb them into itself? Whatever the answer may be, the fact remains indisputable that a religion born in India is the faith of the masses to-day in Thibet, in Burma, in Ceylon, and partially, in China and Japan; while in India itself it is simply extinct, and its very disappearance has disappeared, so that none knows how it took place.

And the creed thus aggressive for destruction can modify other religions till it extinguishes their leading characteristics, and can adapt itself to the ways of other creeds till it puts on the very details of their worship. It has modified Indian Mahommedanism; it has adopted the very *cultus* of Romanism. A missionary known to the writer once accosted a Mahommedan devotee who was worshipping at the shrine of a Pir—a local saint of his creed—and inquired of him what he was doing. 'This is our god,' was the reply—from the mouth of a professor of Monotheism in one of its strictest forms. And there is a celebrated shrine of the Madonna at Bandora, near Bombay, where Hindu women make offerings to propitiate the so-called goddess and obtain from her the gift of fecundity. Her image is adorned with jewels presented by Hindu pilgrims. They worship at the shrine of Xavier, when his remains are periodically exposed. The Good Friday rites at Thanna, where life-size images on

cars are dragged about the streets, attract many Hindu worshippers, and have themselves an idolatrous character. It is in dealing with a system such as this, with its power of adaptability and of absorption, that missionary results must be obtained.

Another consideration to be reckoned with is the effect upon the Hindu mind of the presence of Christians in India. And here we would beg of our readers to dismiss once for all from their thoughts the impressions possibly received from exaggerated words on platforms, or unguarded expressions in pamphlets, as well as from the fascinating stories of Mrs. Steel and Mr. Kipling. It is certainly not the case that the tone of English society is a demoralizing scandal to Hindus. The writer repeatedly inquired of a well-known Governor of Bombay what he thought of the picture presented in, say, *The Story of the Gadsbys* or *Plain Tales from the Hills*. He replied: 'I can only tell you that in my own experience the moral tone of society is higher in Bombay than in London.'

No one, of course, would affirm that the surroundings of a military cantonment in any part of India will offer a favourable impression of the moral results of Christianity. Take thousands of vigorous young men, crowd them together in barracks, and keep them in compulsory celibacy, and they will not be a 'living epistle' to commend Christianity to the heathen.

Again, English society in India, it must be frankly confessed, is openly and confessedly secular. How, indeed, could it possibly be otherwise? Aged people are absolutely unknown; every British resident in India looks to end his days in England. Young children there are, up to six; from six to sixteen there are none. Thus the two great steadying influences of care for the aged and for the young are withdrawn from the British resident.

Add to this that he is 'putting in his time' in a country where he never will settle, and in which even his temporary sojourn may be divided among many stations; that he is contending with the enervating influences of a climate both foreign and deadly; that political interests are unknown under the sway of a benevolent despotism; that there are

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no professional artists; that intellectual and literary tastes cannot flourish in the absence of libraries—and it will hardly be a matter for wonder that the rage for constant amusement which pervades the England of to-day obtains in an exaggerated form among our countrymen in the Indian Empire.

And, again, when people leave their homes they become more entirely themselves, are far less dominated by convention than they are in their native country. It follows quite naturally from this that those who were occasional communicants when they lived in a parish in England, are only occasional church-goers when they have spent a few years in India; while those who were occasional churchgoers neglect public worship altogether. They may spend a great part of their time at a distance from the means of grace, and so learn to disregard them *in toto*. Or, they may only be visited by a chaplain some three or four times a year, and may depend for all other opportunities on the reading of prayers now and then by a layman from among themselves.

In a directly religious form, then, the influence of Englishmen in India is not wholly favourable to missions. Indirectly, and on the moral side, it would be true to affirm just the opposite. The influence of the English *Raj* is all on the side of what is elevating. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world has there existed so grand a bureaucracy as that which administers India—incorruptible, devoted to duty, maintaining before the eyes of the natives an official standard of conscientiousness, to praise which were almost an impertinence. And this, be it remembered, among a people whose notion of equity in a judge is accepting bribes from both sides, to be returned in the case of the loser. So incomprehensible, indeed, to the average native mind is British incorruptibility, that it may come to the knowledge of a judge that delay in the settlement of a case will be taken by the suitors in his court to mean that he is waiting to be bribed; and that, pending the actual settlement, sums of money are paid to his native subordinates, which are supposed to pass on to his hands.

But the influence of this same bureaucracy on actual evangelization may not only be neutral, but adverse. There

are many instances on record of highly placed English officials setting forward the cause of Missions by every legitimate means. But instances are not wanting of an attitude exactly the opposite. And, in any case, the indifference of Englishmen to the spiritual welfare of the country, as contrasted with their noble devotion to its moral and material interests, is the opposite of helpful to Missions.

Such indifference is easy to account for. To live among non-Christians, debarred by one's official position from attempting to draw them to Christ, is in itself to run grave risks of sinking down into total indifference, not only to their spiritual welfare, but to the abstract truth or falsehood of the various religions they profess. The situation is so wholly anomalous that little, if any, blame can attach to individual officers. But the reader will readily see how disastrous may be its reaction on the attitude of Christians themselves. They are bound to treat other faiths with—what tends to become contemptuous—tolerance. To do this leads to looking on one's own as but one among many attempts at the solution of that which is insoluble, as one of many approaches to an unknown and unknowable Being, if the sojourner in a heathen country has aught but the firmest of grips upon the Faith in which he was trained. The influence, then, of English society, and specially of English Officialdom, while it makes in the highest degree for the moral elevation of India, cannot be regarded as favourable—can hardly be deemed as not adverse—to the Christianization of the country.

We have indicated in these last sentences what weight should really be attached to the prejudice, so terribly common among English residents in India, against active missionary efforts. The educational work of Missions, their ameliorating effect upon the people, on its social and moral side, elicits hearty sympathy from officials, both military and civil. But in the work of evangelization they often refuse to believe as being possible or even desirable.

There is much to be said in their excuse. In our general estimate of results we shall have many failures to speak of. Among the earliest converts to Christianity there are many little better than runagates, many more whose spiritual force

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never rises to the normal level expected of followers of Christ. The dropping of the shell of caste, about which we have spoken above, has left them without the support which a traditional system afforded, unequipped with the spiritual armour which life requires for its defence if lived under 'a law of liberty.' Then, one scandalous native Christian brings more discredit on the Gospel than can ever be visibly redeemed by the lives of twenty adherents who have never figured in the law courts nor been heard of beyond their own villages.

Of the total indifference of Europeans to the work of missions among the heathen—indeed, of their blank ignorance about it—the following may serve as an example. A lady travelling in the country was visiting a European family in the military cantonment of Poona, and, being deeply interested in Missions, she made inquiries about the Anglican mission in the native city close by, with a view to paying it a visit. Her hostess stoutly maintained that no such mission existed, and the visitor left without seeing it. As a fact, the staff of that mission, a mile and a half away, included four or five clergy and fifteen or sixteen sisters; its communicants were numbered in hundreds; it had six schools, of different grades, for Christian boys and girls; and its church yields to none in the diocese. But this all belonged to the native city, with its 100,000 inhabitants, a mile and a half away: while the hostess 'Poona' was the cantonment, with its fashionable European society, and its Christianity meant parade service, as said on Sunday mornings.

In face of the many considerations which our readers have now had before them—Monism in philosophy, Pantheism in religion, Caste in society, heredity and habit in the converts, secular education under Government, necessary neutrality in things official, indifference in Anglo-Indian society—it cannot be matter for surprise if we say that wholesale conversions, indeed, that rapid progress, are not to be looked for at present.

But let us see what progress there is—quantitatively, for as much as this is worth; qualitatively, so far as this is possible. And even this with a preliminary caution. Impatience for visible results is the last infirmity of enthusiasts—not for

the unworthy reason that they wish to see something for their money, but as part of the very enthusiasm which makes them supporters of Missions. They must not look at present for rapid or striking advances. The mistakes of the Salvation Army, who have thought, in such a country as India, to swell the ranks of Christianity by the din of drums and trumpets, and hysterical assurances of conversion, are only the extremest specimen of a totally false view of Missions. In the experience of the present writer, some earnest Methodist missionaries have erred almost as seriously.

By one and one only means can rapid results be obtained. Should God see fit, in His goodness, to raise up native evangelists, who shall be to the Gospel of His Son what many a Hindu reformer has been to revivals of heathenism, then districts and provinces might be won within the lifetime of the present generation. Such results will never be obtained by the work of any European. In the hands of Indian evangelists Christianity would adapt itself in detail to the country it was destined to win. The inexpressible touch of sympathy which countryman has with fellow-countryman, and Asiatic has with Asiatic, would effect, under the guidance of the Spirit, what we European Christians can never hope to approach.

How soon God may will to do this, or how long He may delay its accomplishment, it is absolutely vain to speculate. The advent of a great personality is one of the inexplicable mysteries which He hides within the counsels of His Providence. We can pray for it, and in a sense we can hasten it. The patient underground work which Missions are doing in the present is at all events preparing the field, within which spiritual genius may—we will not say, be expected to germinate, but at least—have room for growth, if it be planted by God's own Hand.

To work with imperturbable patience for results which may be centuries in coming is the task now laid upon Christendom. To endeavour to promote such work among ourselves, by laying down principles for its accomplishment, is that of the present writer. Results we can only handle in so far as they illustrate principles.

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We begin, then, by quoting some figures. Counting heads can be worth but little in such a calculation as ours. Yet even as a matter of statistics the results are far from contemptible.

We offer no figures of our own, but lay before our readers *in extenso* a letter addressed to the *Times* by an ex-Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, embodying the results of the last Census, so far as they bear on our point. The gross population of the country showed an increase, in those ten years, of between 7 and 8 per cent. The increase in the number of Christians amounted to 30 per cent. That is to say, the increase of Christians was somewhere about four times as great as the natural growth of the population. Where 100 inhabitants were to be found in 1891, 107 to 108 were to be found in 1901. But in places where there were 100 Christians in 1891 there were to be found 130 in 1901. The increase varied much in different parts of the country. In Assam it was as much as 120 per cent.; in other places it was as low as 20 per cent. But the figures, taken as a whole, show that for every child baptized as the offspring of Christian parents, three Hindus or Mahommedans or Aborigines were admitted to the fold as converts. The total increase of Christians in the ten years under review came to more than half a million. Sir Charles Elliott wrote as follows:

'SIR,—You were good enough to insert in your issue of November 9 a letter from me containing the Census results as to the number of Christians in those parts of India for which the statistics had then been tabulated. I have now received from Mr. H. H. Risley, the Imperial Census Commissioner, the figures for the entire continent, except the Bombay Presidency and Burma; and I trust you will consider that the importance of the results justifies you in publishing this information for the benefit of the large number of people who are deeply interested in missionary progress.

I find I was mistaken in stating in my former letter that the figures I had received related to native Christians only. They include Europeans also; and we must wait a little longer to obtain the statistics for the two classes of Christians separately. But the European element may be treated as fairly constant; for, if there has been a slight increase in the number of Europeans engaged in trade and commerce and professions, there has been a slight diminu-

Province	No. of Christians in	
	1891.	1901.
Punjab . . . . .	53,909	71,864
Baluchistan . . . . .	3,008	4,026
North-West Provinces . . . . .	59,518	102,955
Bengal . . . . .	192,484	278,366
Andamans and Nicobars . . . . .	483	482
Assam . . . . .	16,844	35,969
Central Provinces . . . . .	13,308	25,571
Central India Agency . . . . .	5,999	8,114
Rajputana Agency . . . . .	1,855	2,840
Ajmere and Merwara . . . . .	2,683	3,712
Baroda . . . . .	646	7,691
Berar . . . . .	1,359	2,375
Haidarabad . . . . .	20,429	23,363
Madras . . . . .	1,580,179	1,934,480
Total . . . . .	1,952,704	2,501,808*

tion in the military force, since some British regiments on the Indian establishment are now serving temporarily in South Africa. We may, therefore, consider the increase as having occurred almost entirely among natives; and that increase amounts to about 550,000 souls, or about 30 per cent.—more than four times the [proportionate] growth of the whole population. In the Punjab it is over 33 per cent., in the North-West Provinces 75 per cent., in Bengal 45 per cent., in Assam 120 per cent., in the Central Provinces nearly 100 per cent., in Madras 20 per cent. We may look forward to a further elucidation of these figures when the Census report appears; but surely, as they stand, they are enough to cause all those who are supporters of the cause of missions to thank God and take courage.

C. A. ELLIOTT.

Now, in dealing with figures like these, one very encouraging fact must always be borne in mind—the extraordinary fewness of the workers as compared with the work to be done.

The total population of India in 1900 amounted to over 294,000,000; the Christian workers, male and female, clerical and lay, educational, medical, and evangelistic, numbered 3,415. India, then, had, roughly speaking, about as many inhabitants as London multiplied by sixty-five. What would be said about the hopes of Christianity for maintaining itself

\* The Returns, as finally completed, showed a total Christian population of 2,923,000.

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in London if the total number of workers among all its many denominations bore the same proportion to its people as evangelistic workers in India bear to its teeming millions? Yet India has to be converted, not to be maintained in Christianity. And, crowded as India is, compare the extent of its surface with that of the British Metropolis. London lies in three counties, and covers but a portion of these. India is as large as Europe with the Russian Empire cut off.

It will be seen, then, that, quantitatively regarded, the present results of Missions on the mass of Indian society, while they cannot be called very large, are perceptible, unchallengeable, nay considerable. Father Benson, of the Cowley Society, in a paper published some years ago in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, made a careful historical comparison between the spread of Christianity in Europe in the early days of the Church, and its progress to-day in India. The conclusion at which he arrived at was that, taking them each as a whole, the conversion of India to-day was progressing rather more rapidly than that of Europe did then.

But to pass to qualitative results. Any estimate formed about these must obviously be matter of impression much more than of verifiable fact. Our treatment of a subject such as this will, therefore, be open, we foresee, to the charge of being somewhat desultory. It will not be chargeable, as we trust, with being vitiated by prejudice or by sentiment.

Now, in forming and in correcting such impressions one most perplexing consideration must not be left out of account. The sins and faults and deficiencies to which Indians are specially liable are those which appear most odious in the eyes of Europeans and Englishmen.

The ghastly untruthfulness of Hindus—the result of centuries of Caste, with all its demoralizing conditions, and aggravated, as it certainly is, by the painful intellectual uncertainty which comes of a reasoned Pantheism—reduces the moral fibre to something most contemptible to us.

Then, the mercenariness of the native character, with the marvellous pettiness of detail into which it is prone to descend, is almost incredible to Englishmen. It is partly, no doubt,

to be accounted for by the abject poverty of the country. Experience of the poor among ourselves often opens the eyes of their helpers to the terrible temptations to mercenariness, and also to pecuniary dishonesty, which result from straitened means. But what would be poverty to an Englishman is wealth to the average Hindu. One pays twelve rupees a month—in some parts perhaps only eight—for the services of a trusted domestic. On this sum, with a room in the compound, he maintains a wife and family, and supports one or two hangers-on.

Again, treachery, that resource of the slave, besets the Hindu character, and is regarded with an absence of reprobation, in ordinary native society, which staggers well-wishers of the country, to the total alienation of their sympathy.

Now, when the remains of vices like these display themselves in converts to Christianity, the tendency of the English looker-on is to condemn all Missions wholesale for not having rooted them out, and that in the first generation and by the bare fact of conversion. When a man has once faced the great ordeal, has sacrificed his caste and his all for the sake of becoming a Christian, it may seem, perhaps, at first sight, as though everything must instantly give way before the depth and the power of his conversion; that he will become more thoroughly Christian than the man who has been trained from his youth in the doctrine and practice of the Gospel. All such preconceptions as these are falsified by actual experience. Among the crosses of the Christian missionary, and the stumbling-blocks to the Christian looker-on, disillusion on this point stands first. The influence of heredity and of habit are not thus easily thrown off. Saintly converts, thank God! are to be found; respectable converts, by the thousand; alas! scandalous converts not a few. But it constitutes an everyday experience that it is not in the first generation that the developed fruits of the Gospel begin, as a rule, to appear. Not the convert baptized as an adult, and not the convert's children, brought up by half-trained parents; but the children's children of the converts, themselves baptized in childhood, and brought up in enlightened homes, display the fruits of the Gospel as we fondly expect to find

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them in those who have accepted it as converts. The failures and sins of the last-named class are exactly those which naturally follow as the fruits of an age-long heredity and of early habit and training.

But, however it may be with other things, there are two most important points which present themselves to every observer comparing or contrasting Hindus with even Christians of the first generation. The terrible melancholy of Hinduism, the blank lack of interest in life which appears, in the manner and the countenance, to indicate its prevailing temperament, disappear at once in the convert. The brightness and cheerfulness of the Gospel develop, especially in the young, quite a new capacity for enjoyment; the interest of life seems trebled.

Again, a sojourn in a mission where the management of girls is understood brings out a marvellous contrast between all that is visible there and the impression which comes irresistibly when a man brought up in England sees womanhood as found among Hindus.

The conception of modesty and purity which obtains among Hindu women is absolutely different in kind from what we expect among Christians. Not to look a man in the face, to look past him, to shun his eye, is the instinct of a Hindu woman who respects herself and her position. The frank, unconscious gaze which is taken as a matter of course in one's dealings with Christian women, the sense that there is nothing to avoid, the delicacy which takes itself for granted because it is incapable of evil, have become an inherited instinct in well-trained English girls.

Now, all these are so unintelligible in any but Christian society that the liberty accorded to women by the common usage of Europe appears to the Hindu mind as simply a courting of licence. The contrast in this respect between the native Christian girl and the other women of the country, untouched by Christian tradition, is a thing too palpable and unmistakable to be called a mere impression. To have seen it is to think of Christianity as introducing 'a new creation.'

We have made, then, two marked exceptions as we speak of the prevailing low standard to be found among Indian

converts in regard to many virtues associated with the Gospel of Christ. But before we leave this subject we desire to suggest to the reader that when English and Indian Christians form estimates, each of the other, perhaps the sense of deficiency, of a standard not wholly adequate, may not be all on one side. If the faults of the Indian Christian are peculiarly odious to the Englishman, perhaps there are traits in ourselves which astonish our Indian brethren, as wholly unaccountable in Christians.

The truth about impressions such as these is not easily arrived at, we must own. The writer has often said before English and Indian Christians how much he would like to know how the natural pride of an Englishman—what we call our self-respect—really strikes a Hindu Christian, whose capacity for self-distrust has, perhaps, struck the Englishman as abject. Or, again, how European luxury—or what must seem such to Hindus—impresses our native brethren, to whom ordinary tables and chairs appear to be quite a superfluity, and who can be fat and well-liking on a diet which to us would seem starvation.

But enough of allowances and of minimizings. There are saints among Hindu Christians. Among the books at the head of this article we have placed a biography of one of them, the Life of Nehemiah Goreh. Long before the present writer had thought of going to India, he was shown by a *quondam* missionary a photograph of a native in a cassock, with the words, 'This is the most Christ-like man I know.' After many opportunities of observation, and some approach to intimacy, he understood what the speaker meant. There were many of the weaknesses of the native—an extraordinary want of practicality about the smaller details of life; a preponderance of intellectual refinement at the cost, to some extent, of the growth of the religious affections; prolonged indecision, because every side of every question required to be endlessly studied again and again before the mind could be made up. But there was to be found in this typical Brahmin not one of the Hindu vices set forth in what precedes. There was an absolute loyalty and straightforwardness, a chivalrous superiority to mercenariness, a truthfulness, transparent and

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complete, which very few Englishmen could surpass. In him that first act of self-sacrifice did seem to have cut out by the roots the Hindu works of the flesh. To have known even one such man among one's native Christian friends, the whole number being so few, was to have lived down once and for ever any prejudice against Indian missions. But although one knew only one Goreh, there were other Christians to be met, and that not very infrequently, of whom any Church might be proud.

In one respect, indeed, they stand far above most Englishmen: adoration comes to them more naturally. The attitude of absolute submission in the acknowledged presence of Deity, the act of worship, humble and complete, of exalting God as God, of assuming the attitude of a creature in the presence of the infinite Creator, is to be seen in a native congregation far more frequently and far more deeply than in one composed of Europeans.

The weakest side, perhaps, of native Christian life is that which has already come out in our comments on Xavier and Schwartz, and on the results which their missions produced. The power of standing alone, not to say of spreading the Gospel, is sadly wanting among natives. Every candid English missionary must acknowledge that, for the present at least, the Religion for which he has been labouring remains an exotic in India. The descendants of Xavier's converts have held their own, it is true; they do nothing to set forward the Gospel. The children of Schwartz' converts in the second or third generation—some of them, we fear, in the first—relapsed altogether into heathenism. And in every mission in the country there is to be seen, in its most aggravated form, what Professor Drummond described<sup>1</sup> as 'parasitism in religion'—the inability to stand alone, to live any life in Christ which is not dependent on others for maintaining its very existence. Every Christian priest of strong character, in whatever country he works, must face the difficult problem of the scope and proper limitations of personal influence over others—how far his own strength of character may prove the weak point in his work; how people, by

<sup>1</sup> *Natural Law in the Spiritual World.*

clinging to him, may rise to a standard of observance which is wholly unnatural to them; how they may take his spiritual magnetism for a genuine work of the Spirit transforming their personal characters. The difficulty is there, and must be met. The point to be thought out and decided is, Where is he to draw the distinction? What discriminates personal influence as a means of drawing men to Christ from that same personal influence putting self instead of Christ? At what point must man stand aside, lest the shadow of his own personality come between the Redeemer and the redeemed?

But if every minister of Christ must sometimes be questioning himself thus, the missionary must be doing so constantly. Before he baptizes a convert, and after the baptism has taken place; when work has to be started in a neighbourhood; when a community Christianized, as it may seem, has to be raised to spiritual independence; when a candidate is accepted for ordination, and when he is placed in sole charge, the question must again be raised, Are we courting scandals and apostasies, or are we merely requiring of natives what Christianity entitles us to expect of them? An overwhelming proportion, we are persuaded, of the difficulties and the actual collapses of missionary work in India is due, not to conscious hypocrisy on the part of converts to Christianity, but to failure to ask these questions, or to decide them with reasonable prudence.

To hold a nascent Church too long under foreign control were, of course, to do injustice to it and to the grace which might support it. But to attempt to develop it prematurely were an evil indefinitely greater. Mistakes in both directions have been made, and are still being made. If missionaries of our communion have laid themselves open sometimes to fathering their converts too sedulously, the opposite and more dangerous error has characterized some Nonconformists: some excellent American Independents having been the most prominent offenders.

If *doctrinaire* English Radicals, placed in high office in India, have made the mistakes that they have done in trying to force upon the country measures of local self-government for which it is totally unfit, and if their deluded

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promoters have not been convinced by their results, it is scarcely, perhaps, to be wondered at that missionaries from the home of democracy have erred in a similar way. Undeniable it certainly is that the results, in American missions, of leaving the native pastors to sink or swim alone have been disastrous to them and to their flocks.

The question has been raised among ourselves, how soon a native Episcopate may be formed, and may be left independent. That it should even have been opened for discussion only indicated how impossible it is for the best and most earnest of men to understand the conditions of India without having lived among Indians. In the face of the conspicuous ability which has often been displayed in the country, when some tried native statesman has administered a kingdom alone, it would be mere presumption on our part to insinuate that a native priest might not be found to-morrow, who would be fit to administer a diocese. But considering how impossible it has proved to place even outlying missions under the care of native priests, without European supervision, and considering the fewness, in all, of the native Presbyterate in India, it is simply absurd for the present to speculate on the subject at all. When God raises up the man the English bishops in India will not be slow to discover him, and, having discovered him, to put him forward. In the meantime, the discussion of the question can only raise prematurely expectations in the Indian Church which would be much better deferred.

Our general conclusions about results—what they are and how to obtain them—may be summarized, then, as follows: That there are as great variations among Christians in India as there are in England, and not, perhaps, very much greater. That the shortcomings to be found among them are just their racial characteristics, not as yet wholly redeemed by God's grace. But one conclusion stands out as the result of our investigation—that the one grand secret of success lies in knowing the character of the people, and adapting one's methods accordingly. That Method, even more than Personality, is the great prevailing force by which the Indian Church must be consolidated. Our methods, to be successful, must be addressed to two great objects—

to developing the individual *stamina*, without which there is no Christian character, and to sheltering, in its earliest stages, the weakness which Caste leaves behind it.

### ART. III.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL CRISIS IN SCOTLAND.

1. *The Free Church of Scotland Appeals, 1903-4.* Edited by ROBERT LOW ORR, M.A., LL.B., Advocate. Authorised Report. (Edinburgh : Macniven and Wallace, 1904.)
2. *The Church of Scotland, and Spiritual Independence.* By A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D. (Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons, 1875.)
3. *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland.* By the Rev. NORMAN L. WALKER, D.D. (Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1895.)

IT is not proposed in the present article to discuss the judgment of the House of Lords in the Scottish Free Church case nor to canvass the pronouncements of the several judges. That has been done with wearisome reiteration in the columns of the daily and weekly press during the interval since the cause was decided. We address ourselves to the more fruitful task of pointing out some of the more important issues suggested by this great lawsuit and its momentous consequences.

In the first place, the principles which the King's courts will inevitably apply to all similar cases are now as clear as daylight. No voluntary religious society, whatever its own pretensions may be, can hope to escape the application of the law of trusts. If there be no formal deed under which the society in question is incorporated, the court will determine what were the principles of the original members, and these will be rigorously held to determine the trust under which property is held and funds administered. That the society is a 'church'—a distinction of which the law is not cognizant—will not be allowed to confer any rights or privileges withheld from ordinary trustees. A majority cannot alter the trust,

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much less dispossess a minority which is faithful to the principles on which the trust was founded. In justice to the United Free Church, it ought to be said that the plea put forward by the defence did not impugn the legal view. It was claimed, though the court decided otherwise, that no essential principle of the Free Church was violated by the majority, and that therefore no breach of trust had taken place. But if counsel knew their business too well to claim what no court of Great Britain would recognize, there is much in the current talk of free churchmen, as they would all now wish to be called, both north and south of the Border, which greatly needs such a check as this judgment of the highest tribunal in the land is calculated to give. No religious body holding property can do what it likes, even when the interests of the State are no way imperilled by its action. It will not be suffered even to interpret, far less to override, civil law.

But it will be readily acknowledged that, while the safety of the State demands a rigid compliance with the laws under which property in this country is held, the application of such a law as that by which trusts are governed will bear far more hardly on some forms of association than others, especially on those where the terms of the trust are implied rather than expressed. And there are peculiar features in those religious bodies, which, though the term be unknown to the courts, will always be described popularly as churches, which may often render the incidence of the law inconsistent with the equities of the case. Of this it is generally felt that the United Free Church affords a conspicuous instance. For, granted that the trust under which the old Free Church held its property was such as it is now declared to have been, it yet remains true that the greater part of the funds of which the united body is now stripped, including what has been sunk in churches and manses, was contributed by persons in sympathy with the policy of the majority. No doubt one of the results of this litigation will be a careful investigation on the part of all religious bodies into the conditions of the trusts on which their property is held. A committee has, we believe, been appointed by the Congregationalists with this end in view. The Education controversy has emphasized the presence

among the Wesleyans of a conservative minority, resembling in some respects the 'constitutionalists' now recognized as the Free Church of Scotland, who might at least be entitled to play a similar part in the case of that reunion of Methodism which appears to be most ardently desired by the party most bitterly hostile to the Established Church. Nice questions might be raised, as Lord Macaulay long ago pointed out, even with regard to the present position of the followers of John Wesley. For some time to come all non-established churches will probably be slow to move in the direction of constitutional change without the protection of an appeal to Parliament such as that which the United Free Church now regards as necessary and inevitable.

But to suggest the wisdom of timely appeals to Parliament is not sufficient to relieve the situation. We are not so enamoured of our recent experience with respect to the Southwark and Birmingham bishoprics bill as to deny that by this means security of tenure might be gained at the expense of freedom to develop. To have to face the delay and uncertainty of promoting legislation, which at any time might become contentious, would almost certainly mean an unprogressive timidity and a tendency to accommodate existing beliefs to formulas of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, highly injurious to the religious life and thought of the country. What, for example, but the fear of Parliament has prevented the Church of Scotland from affording to its probationers and divinity students the relief of a declaratory act interpreting the Confession of Faith? Though the fact of Establishment removes this particular case from the present argument, the illustration is good. It is the sort of hesitation which will recur on every hand in the path of urgent reform where freedom of action is denied. Moreover the life of churches is of such a character that all contingencies cannot be foreseen, every eventuality cannot be forestalled. Christianity, though essentially the same in every age, moves onward from generation to generation into a future always unknown. The precise limits of any ecclesiastical constitution cannot be so drawn as to make it always apparent

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when and where they are transgressed. What, therefore, seems to be required is something in the nature of a religious trusts commission, or the creation of a new department of the Charity Commission, the function of which should be to redistribute in terms of equity such property as the strict letter of the law has alienated from those who on other grounds are entitled at least to share in its use.

So much for the more immediate and obvious lessons of the ecclesiastical difficulty in Scotland. But behind these there rises the great problem of spiritual independence, which has once again been forced into prominence by the decision of the House of Lords. There can be no question that an increasing number of the clergy of the Church of England is coming to regard the prospect of Disestablishment, if not with hopeful expectancy, at least with complacent acquiescence. If such a policy has its attendant losses, it has also its compensating gains. Narrower public opportunities would be balanced by larger spiritual freedom, diminished revenues by increased efficiency. On the other hand, rejoicing in their independence of the State, Nonconformists have themselves been making essays in coercion under the guise of passive resistance. Then comes the sudden spectacle of a large and important Christian body, the very name of which testifies to its fight for liberty, stripped of what it claimed as its possessions by the judgment of a civil court. What is the meaning of this irony of fate? Can the armour of the 'Free Churches' be so improved as to render them proof against the calamity which has befallen their neighbours in Scotland? Or is spiritual independence, save in the form of mediæval ecclesiasticism which is nothing if not unspiritual, a mere figment of the churchman's imagination?

One thing which the judgment of the House of Lords makes perfectly plain is that any religious society which seeks to exercise a jurisdiction exempting either its legislative acts or its judicial sentences from review by the courts of the realm is pursuing an unattainable shadow. Such freedom as this cannot be gained by walking out of the gates of the Establishment. It is not suggested that the conditions of Establishment may not be such as to lay an intolerable

burden upon the Christian society. The State may claim, and no doubt has claimed, to speak with the voice of the Church, to declare its doctrines, to regulate its worship, to change its discipline. Many theories have been advanced, and have probably governed the actions of individual statesmen, virtually denying the power of the keys. But it is doubtful whether Erastianism has ever gone so far as to apply in acknowledged practice to actual institutions the theory that the Church is, like the Post Office, a State department. None knew better, for example, than Elizabeth, who certainly did not spare the use of the royal prerogative, that the spirituality possessed a jurisdiction which she had not conferred; none more summarily restrained the Parliament from interfering in matters that were too high for it. Still the claim to supremacy over all persons and in all causes never was nor could be renounced by any British sovereign; nor did either English Puritans at the Restoration or Scottish Episcopalians at the Revolution escape from its fetters. What was impossible in the seventeenth century had not become possible in 1843.

It is difficult, therefore, to follow the claim which since that date has been put forward by Free Churchmen to a liberty so complete that the Christian society should not only be recognized as absolute within its own sphere, but should be entirely free to determine for itself what that sphere is. This can only be carried out in the unappropriated wastes beyond the protection of civil government or in a world where the spiritual and temporal are so closely interwoven as to be indistinguishable. In the imperfectly civilized society of which we are in fact members, it involves nothing less than the papal claim that the Church should prescribe the limitations of the King's courts, a right which it is certain that no civil authority will ever tolerate. There was a time when churches of the Calvinistic model would not have shrunk from asserting an authority which now appears only among the dreams of Ultramontaniam. But the days of the Genevan consistory are long past, and the Presbyterian idealist of to-day contents himself with the demand for a free church in a free state. Such a phrase as this may be empty enough on the

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lips of a democrat more concerned with civil liberty than with religious truth. It is nothing more than a convenient catchword for Disestablishment in the mouth of many an English dissenter. But the freedom of the Church, in the sense in which he conceives of it, means just as much as the freedom of the State to the Scottish Free Churchman.' Dr. Norman Walker, in his otherwise admirable *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland*, discusses the subject of spiritual independence in a manner that scarcely does justice to his mental acuteness. He writes, of course, before the union of 1900, but in view of the Cardross case, in which the civil courts claimed as against the Assembly of the Free Church the jurisdiction recently exercised by the House of Lords with sweeping effect. This is how the attitude of Free Churchmen is defined :

'What then, after all, is our position? It is a very simple one, and a perfectly logical one. It is substantially that of the man whose conscience constrains him to assume a certain attitude, and who keeps to it let the consequences be what they may. We believe it to be no mere figure of speech that Christ is the Head of His Church—that He has appointed in it a government distinct from that of the civil magistrate—and that for the regulation of His kingdom He has laid down specific laws. Having these convictions, we are not affected by such judicial deliverances as have been quoted. They imply just such assumptions on the part of the State as the Church of Scotland has been long familiar with ; and, so far from being moved by them to commit the liberties of the Church to their keeping, we are constrained all the more anxiously to preserve them from their interference.'

But the point of the whole situation revealed first by the Cardross case and now by the judgment of the Lords, is that the liberties of Free as of all other Churchmen are committed to the keeping of the State not by the acceptance of Establishment but by residence in Britain. Establishment regulates the manner of State interference, but does not determine the right to interfere. Yet Dr. Walker appears to hold that the courts are exerting an authority which is certain to be withdrawn from them, if the protest against their unchristian usurpation is only maintained. This is the

contrast which he draws between the present position of the Established and Free Churches :

'The Established Church, for the sake of the endowments and of having "jurisdiction" conferred upon it—of having its Presbyteries recognised as "Courts"—and of having its sentences countersigned by the courts of law—has consented to be held as having no "government" apart from its establishment, to give up to the civil courts the right to define its province, and to submit to have some of its most strictly internal affairs, such as the formation of the pastoral tie and the constitution of its courts regulated in the minutest way by Acts of Parliament. While the Free Church has elected, at a considerable sacrifice, to withdraw from an entangling alliance, under which she regarded herself as bound to a disloyal subserviency to the State, and to establish herself on an independent basis outside, she does not forge that by a majority of the law lords her 'pleas of privilege' have been repelled. She knows that in their view a church, as such, is not an institution *sui generis*, to be dealt with differently from a club or a voluntary association. But she also knows that this is not the opinion of the Scottish people ; so that practically there is no great risk of the principle being in the long-run employed oppressively. But whether or no, she considers it safest, in the circumstances, to have her liberties in her own keeping and to hold to her own right to determine what is sacred.'

Now, a Free Churchman is perfectly justified in arguing, as Dr. Walker does here, that a 'church' ought to be differentiated in law from other forms of association. He is quite entitled to affirm that an established church by its association with the State surrenders a portion of the liberty which it might rightly claim. No one will dispute his right to declare that the terms upon which the Established Church of Scotland at present enjoys the temporal advantages of its position are such as no Christian community should be willing to accept. But the merest tiro in Scottish affairs knows, what was freely admitted by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in his speech at Edinburgh, that the Established Church makes, and has always made, essentially the same claim to spiritual independence which issues from the lips of Free Churchmen. It is not true to say that it has consented to abjure all jurisdiction save that with which the State chooses to accompany the endowments, all government save what is conferred

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by Establishment. It may be right or it may be wrong for an established church to allow the pastoral tie to be formed in terms of an Act of Parliament, or, as in England, for bishops to be imposed upon dioceses under letters patent, or for civil judges to try ecclesiastical cases. But it is simply absurd to speak of any church as having 'given up' to the civil courts the right to define its province, or to suppose that voluntary churches have their liberties in their own keeping. Dr. Walker refutes himself:

'This claim [he writes] has been branded as Ultra-montan-ism. But no one who understands it will imagine for a moment that any disposition exists to control the State. *Its supremacy within its own sphere—the limits of which must, of course, be determined by itself—is fully and freely conceded.*'

The italics are ours. Suppose, then, a minister in Dundee is deposed for some alleged heresy. He appeals to the civil courts for his manse and stipend. The case reaches the House of Lords. Dr. Walker, as Moderator of the General Assembly, appears at the bar. 'Stay, my Lord Chancellor; you cannot reduce a sentence which depends on the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, the Synod of Angus and Mearns, and the United Free Presbytery of Dundee. We hold to our right to determine what is sacred.' 'No, Moderator,' would be the answer; 'even on your showing we have the right to determine the limits of our own sphere. But anyhow the case will proceed.'

It is difficult to understand how those who argue in this fashion do not see that they are creating a deadlock between Church and State, from which, whether there be a civil establishment of religion or not, it is certain that the State will continue to allow but one way of escape. We are not among those who would regard with contemptuous indifference 'the crown rights of the Redeemer,' for which during three centuries Scotsmen have fought with a noble disregard of consequences. No English Churchman, who, in the words of the Prayer Book, believes that God of His Divine providence has 'appointed divers' 'Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church,' could refuse his sympathy to any movement the object of which was to claim for

ecclesiastical institutions an origin other than the commandment and will of princes. It may be that in times past, relying upon the friendly offices of the sovereign, we have submitted to dangerous invasions under cover of the royal prerogative. It may be that the tangle of our history has so mingled the threads of civil and spiritual authority that our practical freedom is sorely hindered by vexatious restraints. Still we are not Erastians. But, with every disposition to render to God the things that are God's, we do not see any escape from the proposition of the Bidding Prayer which declares the King to be 'over all persons' (even Nonconformists) 'and in all causes' (even of Free Churches) 'throughout his dominions supreme.'

Much confusion would be avoided if we could only set straight our notions about what is meant by jurisdiction. There is an ambiguity in our use of the word which is responsible alike for State aggression upon the proper province of the Church and for ecclesiastical intolerance even of the legitimate intervention of the State. When Lord President Hope, during the troubles which led to the formation of the Free Church, said that the Church of Scotland had no jurisdiction but that which it derived from Parliament, he no doubt spoke most unwisely. But he was only, after all, affirming a proposition which would have applied with equal propriety to Episcopalians, to Romanists, and other bodies of Christians within the realm. Jurisdiction, in the only sense in which civil lawyers understand it, is coercive authority, the power which ultimately depends upon the sword to enforce its decisions. Jurisdiction, in the sense in which all Christians understand it, is the authority of the Christian society to bind and loose the conscience of its members, depending on the 'crown rights' of our Lord Jesus Christ, whether exercised by the episcopate, the pope, general assemblies, or particular congregations. Until conscience is always obeyed and perfectly informed—that is, until the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of Christ—no evasion of the supremacy of the civil authority, as a separate power, is possible. Ecclesiastical courts will only have such jurisdiction, in the legal sense of the word, as the Sovereign chooses to

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allow them. This may involve persecution and martyrdom, or galling subservience to the State, or reasonable establishment or practically unlimited toleration. The last represents the position in the British dominions and the United States of all unestablished religious bodies, which the civil lawyer declares, with imperfect accuracy, have no jurisdiction. They have jurisdiction to this extent, that the law will uphold their enactments, so far as their own members are concerned, provided that in the opinion of the civil courts there has been no infringement of contract, and no injustice. But let even one member cry 'Caesarem appello,' and the stoutest champions of spiritual independence may find themselves victims of a misfortune like that which has overtaken the United Free Church.

There is and can be no escape from this conclusion. Yet it is curious to observe what strangely misdirected thinking is involved in many of the criticisms which the decision of the House of Lords has called forth. Thus one newspaper informs its English readers that the judgment has given prominence once again to the question of disestablishment in Scotland. But where does the Establishment come in? Can it be seriously maintained that principles only applicable to an Established Church have been erroneously applied to a voluntary one? Is it supposed that, were the Establishment swept away to-morrow, every society that chose to call itself a church would thereby be regarded as possessing an inalienable right to follow its own caprice in the administration of its affairs? The judgment may be wrong, but it is pronounced by a court the decisions of which cannot be reviewed except by the verdict of history, which cannot undo results. Nor does the judicature exist in any country, however innocent of the desire to patronize or control religion, which would sign its own death-warrant by allowing the litigant to ask 'Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?' The plain English of the matter is, as Lord Deas put it in the Cardross case, that, unless a church receives jurisdiction from the State, it is a voluntary association like a club or a shipping company. A voluntary church need not be committed to what Scotsmen call the voluntary principle; but, so long as it elects to exist

outside the protection of those special statutes which, if they do not found, give a special recognition to the courts of an Established Church, it differs in no respect from other voluntary associations. What ground is there for complaint that 'pleas of privilege' are repelled? Of course this is so, for privilege is only another word for establishment. But 'a church,' says Dr. Walker, 'is more than a voluntary association.' Certainly. 'Its government and laws were not framed by the votes of its members, but by a Divine authority.' None would have echoed that statement more devoutly than Archbishop Laud. Perhaps Lord Deas would have done the same. But the sooner it is admitted that the State must and will do what it conceives to be justice among its own lieges, even to annulling the temporal effects of spiritual sentences, the better it will be for the freest of free churches.

Unfortunately a very distinct tendency has of late been perceptible to dispute this elementary proposition, on which the security of civil society depends. Passive resistance is a dangerous game to play, and may have other results more unfortunate than liberty of conscience. This Scottish decision has already been exploited by the Nonconformist press in England. Thus the London *Daily News*, in commending Mr. Haldane's argument for the legitimacy of the union as justified alike by law and history, continued as follows :

'It is the spiritual independence, not of one church, but of all churches, which is at stake. The Presbyterians are not alone in the possession of trust deeds. Their trust deeds are not the only ones which contain references to doctrine. If the interpretation of doctrinal passages in trust deeds is to be undertaken by the House of Lords, there is no free church within these islands. Wesleyans and Congregationalists and Baptists might have to submit to the ruling of the State upon precisely those spiritual or theological matters upon which the State is least competent to express judgment, and which, above all other matters, are most likely to require expression in new terms.'

This is nothing more nor less than a claim to tear up trust-deeds, the morality of which differs little from that of the man who, in the interests of what he believes to be an

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equitable disposal of a dead man's property, burns the will. No sympathetic member of Parliament, no disappointed leader of the defeated church, has, so far as we know, advanced any such claim. But dissenters in England are not, as it would seem, scandalized by the assertion that money may be taken for one public object and devoted to another, or that a majority of trustees may interpret the terms of their trust as it pleases them. The Puritans of the seventeenth century found many convenient parallels in the Old Testament. None, it would appear, appeals more powerfully to many Puritans of the twentieth than that of the days when there was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

Does it, then, come to this that the struggles of our northern neighbours for ecclesiastical freedom, that the less heroic efforts after independent action which we in England are now making under the name of Church Reform, are unavailing? Are we grasping at the shadow, not at the substance of spiritual independence? However confused the details may often be, the main lines of Scottish ecclesiastical history from 1560 onward are not difficult to trace. When we are told—again to follow Dr. Walker—that the view which the Scottish people take of a church is that which regards it as an institution distinct in its character from all other associations, self-acting and self-governing, responsible for its decisions to God only, there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the statement. That is the ideal for which the nation has consistently fought through the eventful changes of three centuries. It has struggled to realize a religious society which, while its influence should permeate Scottish social life, control, albeit in no carnal sense, the temporal authority, and receive the support, though not the patronage, of the 'civil magistrate,' should nevertheless be free to determine its own doctrine and to exercise its own discipline without fear or favour of 'the powers that be.' No communion could be less like this ideal than the institution which has emerged victorious from the great lawsuit. But how, we ask, is this ideal to be reached? What is the best method of attaining what all United

Free Churchmen, and most Scotsmen, ardently desire? Is it by promoting what is called disestablishment, and so adding another to the number of those religious societies the affairs of which the Court of Session will be bound to treat as it would those of a steam laundry at Leith or a bowling green at Peebles? Is it not possible that there is a more excellent way? We are not seeking to recall the wandering sheep of the Disruption to the fold of the Scottish Establishment. The name of the United Free Church is honoured wherever Christian scholarship is valued or self-sacrificing effort appreciated. If an abundant life is in any sense a justification for existence, the course which was pursued in 1733, in 1752, and in 1843 has received no measured vindication. But is it not, after all, better to strive for spiritual independence as a fact than to spend strength, it may be for nought, in seeking to vindicate it as a principle? And if, as we shall now venture to suggest, the existence of what is called the Established Church be not so much the application of a theory, which an Act of Parliament may summarily end, as a concrete historical development, which from time to time has meant very different things, may not a higher spiritual independence than Scotland has ever yet known either within or without that body which is legally called the Church, be achieved through the modification rather than the destruction of the present relations between Church and State?

Perhaps no more unfortunate phrase was ever invented than that which Chalmers used in the famous Moderator's address, when he said 'We go out on the establishment principle.' The ideas which it represents have governed the minds of politicians and others throughout the ecclesiastical controversies of the past fifty years, and had much to do with the unseemly violence of the disestablishment campaign both in Scotland and elsewhere, an episode upon which we venture to think that even Dr. Rainy must look back with mingled feelings. It suggests a denomination chosen from among a score of contending sects for State recognition and support. It belongs to that world of thought which produced the Social Contract and other political theories of the

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eighteenth century. It dies hard. Even so accurate a thinker as the Bishop of Worcester cannot altogether escape from its contamination. In the notable letter which he addressed to the *Times* on the Scottish Church case he speaks of 'the compact involved in establishment between Church and State.' It is not easy to see what precise application such language can have except it be to the French Concordat, itself the product of that very set of ideas which gives us 'the establishment principle.' Viewed historically the religious establishments of Europe are particular and concrete relationships between the Church and the civil government, which it is hardly possible to reduce to a common denominator. They are the product of social conditions where status counted for more than contract and facts preceded theories.

It is a commonplace that, when we come to define what the Establishment means in England, we find that the Church never was established. If Wesleyans and Baptists had existed in the days of William the Conqueror, they would have formed the subject of legislation as particular as any which throughout its history has given statutory recognition or control, as the case may be, to the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. Or, if we turn to Protestant Scotland, and begin, as the decision of the House of Lords begins, from the Westminster Confession, it seems scarcely more logical to assert that Chapter XXIII. of that document, 'Concerning the Civil Magistrate,' involves what the judges and Dr. Chalmers call 'the establishment principle' than to declare it satisfied (as the voluntaries who retain the Confession equally with the rest are content to hold) by the maintenance of Christian principles in the conduct of the State. Who can doubt that Scottish Presbyterians in the seventeenth century, the men who had bound themselves by the Solemn League and Covenant, held this language to convey a meaning as far removed, for all practical purposes, from the one interpretation as from the other? The spirit of the relationship between Church and State, as they viewed it, is expressed in David Wilkie's famous picture of John Knox preaching before Queen Mary. It finds a parallel in the state of things portrayed by

Hawthorne in the New England story of *The Scarlet Letter*. How different is either conception from that view of an Established Church which prevailed in Edinburgh when George Street, as yet unadorned with the statue of Thomas Chalmers, was a new and fashionable resort! Coming down to the decade which ends with 1872, the year which saw the abandonment of the first attempt at union between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians, we find that the conception of a state church uppermost in the discussions, in which Dr. Begg took a prominent part as the leader of the opposition, appeared to turn upon the use of the pecuniary resources of the nation for the support of religion. The more historical mind of the present day recognizes that the Established clergy of Scotland are not state-paid. Teind, like tithe, is rent. Can it, then, be seriously argued that the essence of Establishment consists in securing to the ministers of any religious body property that cannot be differentiated in kind from other endowments? Nothing, in fact, is more elusive than this 'establishment principle,' unless it be spiritual independence. It is quite Protean in its change of form. Unless we are prepared to interpret the Confession as no one in Scotland at the present day dreams of interpreting it, the opening of the legislature with prayer as in the United States, or the provision of chaplains for Government services, or the right of some particular ecclesiastic to crown the King, or the exemption of church buildings from local taxation, or the grant of free railway passes to ministers of religion—all, or any, of these no less than the present connexion between Church and State, might be taken as sufficiently satisfying its provisions.

What, therefore, we have to ask is whether the time has not now come for ceasing to approach these problems upon abstract principles, for modifying the doctrinaire theories of a state recognition of religion on the one hand or religious equality on the other, and for dealing with the much-vexed church question on concrete national lines. Of England we do not speak. This country presents problems differing from those of Scotland almost as widely as from those of France and Russia. The obstacles presented by constitution,

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doctrine, and government, which prevent the reunion upon equal terms of the United Free and the official Church of Scotland are scarcely more insuperable than those which for all too many years divided the United Presbyterians from what was the Free Church. May we hint that Scotsmen are perhaps too apt to become impaled upon their principles? The decision of the House of Lords, distressing though its immediate consequences may be, will serve a useful end if it suggests that, after all, abstract principles possess about as much reality as geometrical figures.

Established Churchmen will not, we take it, repeat the mistake of 1874, when they allowed the Government of the day to carry an Act for the abolition of patronage, and reproached the Free Church for not accepting it as a settlement in full of all their grievances. It was, in the first place, highly impolitic, especially at a time when the agitation for disestablishment was gathering force and seemed not unlikely to be ultimately successful, to deal with a great and powerful organisation on any other basis than that of joint deliberation and mutual concession. Men do not like to have their standing cut away from beneath. Nor is it wonderful that the Free Churchman's answer to the boon offered by the legislature should have been 'Timeo Danaos.' Besides the litigation which led up to the events of 1843 makes it abundantly clear that patronage was only the occasion, not the cause, of the Disruption. The Established Church will, we hope, consent to believe that the reasons which retain at least half of the intelligence, the learning, the evangelical piety of Presbyterian Scotland within a communion which the sacrifices, the expansion, the devotion of sixty years have made illustrious, are not imaginary and vain. More than this, they might even be willing to regard it as at least an open question whether, whatever may be the case elsewhere, the retention of the teind is in Scotland so necessary a guarantee for the supply of ordinances, that its abandonment would be too great a price to pay for a reconstructed Presbyterianism. It is doubtful how far the heritor is a strength to any communion.

On the other hand, United Free Churchmen will do well

to remember that Mr. McQueen of Kiltarn and Mr. Bannatyne of Culter are not the only people in Scotland beside themselves who have principles which they would deem it dishonour to surrender. Is it right, is it wise, is it Christian to meet all overtures towards an honourable peace, which shall leave neither party in possession of the spoils of war, with the ugly word 'disestablishment'? Is there not a more excellent way? We now know that the United Free Church does not consider an approach to Parliament inconsistent with its fundamental principles. Is it quite beyond the bounds of possibility that, after due deliberation conducted on a footing of perfect equality, the two great divisions of the Presbyterian body should jointly promote such legislation as, without any violent breach with the past, should leave Scotland in possession of a church, neither established nor voluntary in the old sense of either word, recognized as the national organ of religion, but freed from all suspicion of State patronage or control? This is surely not the unattainable.

We have written about a union of Christians in Scotland that does not lie altogether beyond the sphere of practical politics. But it is impossible to forget that our own hopes lie in that more distant future, which the ancients would have said was still on the knees of the gods, but which in the Divine Providence may be nearer than as yet appears. For, alongside of the powerful Presbyterian Church, the realization of which is ardently to be desired, there would continue to exist a communion, small indeed in numbers but by no means weak in indirect influence; national, if not in the allegiance of the mass of the people, at least in the love and devotion which it has inspired in loyal Scottish hearts. While we gratefully acknowledge our debt to Scottish Presbyterianism, we must own our fellowship with the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

It will be readily seen that the judgment of the House of Lords might be allowed to have a most disastrous effect upon all movements towards the unity of Christendom across the main lines of division which separate the churches of the Presbyterian polity from churches which, like our own,

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retain the canonical ministry and the catholic episcopate. If no attempt is made to seek relief from the principles which governed the judgment, we shall have the communions into which Scottish Christianity is at present divided so stereotyped that no approach of the one to the other is possible. Even Lord Lindley, though he took the view that the majority of the Free Church had not exceeded their powers in effecting the union of 1900, allowed that some limits there must be. The 'Church,' he thought, must not only be Christian but also Protestant, and possibly Presbyterian as well. Indeed, the hardest problem which counsel for the defenders had to face, a problem which it can scarcely be said that they succeeded in solving, was the question, In what did the identity of the Free Church consist? The plain lawyers were inclined to suspect the philosophic nicety of Mr. Haldane. The Lord Chancellor kept returning to the question, Was it, then, competent for the Free Church to adopt the doctrines of the Church of Rome?

Two things are obvious. Limits of some kind must be recognized, if we are not to have the anomaly of the Christian Church denying Christ. But the reunion of Christendom becomes impossible if Papists and Protestants, Presbyterians and Prelatists, are to be separated by constitutional barriers which none may overstep except with loss of identity. There is no alternative but for one party to wear down the other by constant secession, or to achieve a whole-sale and unconditional surrender. Such a policy may suit the magnificent claim of the Papacy, but it is not war; or rather, to speak correctly, it is war, not Christianity. This is probably the answer that the difficulty demands. Sudden and violent changes, amounting to a recantation, like that which the Lord Chancellor suggested, or to a rejection of the Faith, such as would be involved in a denial that Jesus is the Son of God, cannot be brought within any theory. Situations like this must be dealt with as they arise according to the maxim that necessity knows no law. In this connexion it is not without interest to recall the fact that the Second Book of Discipline, which Free Churchmen at any rate accept as still part of the law of the Church of Scotland, expressly

provides for such circumstances. 'Kings,' it says, 'and princes that be godlie, sumtymes, be their awin authority, whan the kirk is corruptit, and all things out of ordor place ministers, and restore the trew service of the Lord.' That sentence is meant, no doubt, to cover the facts of the Reformation itself, which are as irregular from a Presbyterian point of view as from any other. But, apart from the purely legal aspect of the case, with which we have refrained from dealing, we hold it to be contrary to the whole spirit of the Kirk to argue that, when it is 'anes lawfully constitute,' when it is following a due order of procedure, when it is giving effect to its own progressive life and thought, any external authority has the right to question its true identity by reference to the 'subordinate standards' of a preceding age.

The hope of future reconciliation lies in the freedom of every Christian community to work out its own life. It is by a genuine evolution, not by a surrender of principles, that the scattered fragments of Christendom will become one. This is what we have been pleading for in the case of the separated Presbyterians of Scotland. There must be no acquiescence in a supposed unity of spirit, while organic separation continues. But a time comes when the real identity of life is such that the difficulty is not to overcome the barriers of a long estrangement but to prevent the outward realization of what has already been inwardly accomplished. Of one thing we may be certain, that whatever gives vitality to any community whatever is the spring of its energies and the source of its attractive power, must be cherished as a truth which it would be fatal to abandon. What we should desire to see, even in communities which appear most irreconcilable with ourselves, is the free development of the principle upon which they rest, knowing that the edges of the divided societies must ultimately blend. But it is of the utmost importance that by free interchange of thought we should not only break down the reserve, which is a fruitful source of misunderstanding, but also help each other to discover the true limits of our own distinctive principle.

There are some significant facts in the history of Scotland

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which make it more than doubtful whether at any time it would have been true to say that Presbyterian government was regarded as an essential feature in the constitution of the Church. Knox was not a Presbyterian. The system of superintendents was not a canonical episcopate, but it was not Presbyterian parity. Prelacy aroused resentment, not because it was unlawful, but because its introduction was regarded as an attack on spiritual independence. The acts of Assembly subsequent to 1602 were not rescinded by the Assembly of 1638 on the ground that they introduced Prelacy. Many acts previous to that date had tended in this direction and still stand among the minutes of the 'Universall Kirk.' They were removed because the assemblies that passed them were packed by the Crown and were therefore not genuine assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland. Nothing could show more clearly than a fact like this what in idea, if not in law, is the true principle, namely freedom in spiritual matters, which the Scottish people has always claimed.

The Church of England has been content to realize its dependence on the Divine Head of the Church in another way. While Scotland refused to receive the bishops at the expense of spiritual independence, England tolerated many encroachments of the Crown as 'supreme governor' so long as the due succession of ministerial authority was jealously preserved. No doubt the interchange and play of ideas arising out of the separations of two centuries and a half have taught us much. Scotland is not so intolerant as formerly of those features of church life which an earlier generation would have called prelatical. The Church of England is now developing its inherent powers with a vigour that suggests a completer independence, a wider diffusion of authority, and a fuller recognition that Episcopacy is not Prelacy. But while in both countries there is, on the one hand, a tendency to define, there is on the other a tendency, equally unmistakable, to intensify the distinctive principle. We are daily learning to prize more highly the historic episcopate. The present troubles in Scotland will inevitably result in a firmer grasp of spiritual independence.

This is as it should be, even though it may seem that

the result can only be a growing divergence. No accommodation of differences could under existing circumstances be suggested which would not involve what one or other party would be bound to regard as a denial of experience, the claim that each in turn puts forward to the possession of a jurisdiction which God gave and not man. This is a sure sign that, whatever growth of sympathy may have taken place, the time for negotiation has not yet come. When it does come, we may be certain that the steps necessary to effect the union will be seen not to involve surrender of principle. The disaster that has resulted from the union of 1900, the long delay of which seemed to the plain Anglican to spring from treating molehills as mountains, warns us of the inherent difficulty of the task and bids us not despair though the vision tarry. But signs are not wanting that good men of every party are refusing to acquiesce in our present unhappy divisions. On our own side that rigidity, which is so severely logical in its ecclesiastical theory that it can tolerate no inconsistencies of practice, is passing away. Our clergy, for example, are not now excluded by episcopal veto from the pulpits of the Scottish universities. A movement of a deeply spiritual character, which owes its inception to the present Primus of Scotland, Bishop Wilkinson of St. Andrews, includes many of the leading men of both the great Presbyterian communions as well as of our own, who meet together for common prayer and mutual encouragement. Few events have made a happier impression than the visit of the Bishop of Worcester to the New College at Edinburgh, shortly before his consecration, and his warm tribute of respect to its veteran teacher, Dr. A. B. Davidson. Episcopalian clergy are beginning to take the divinity degrees in the Scottish universities, and there can be little doubt that this foreshadows a much closer union in theological studies than at present exists. It would be generally conceded that the teaching staff of the United Free Church is unrivalled in Scotland, and the action of the University of Edinburgh in offering to house the dispossessed professors of the New College may lead to a unification of the divinity faculties of the various churches, which would mean

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not only an economy of effort, but a significant step in the direction of Christian unity. These are some of the forces which are making towards not only a wider sympathy but also, what is no less important, a juster appreciation of difference. Without either a union that is worth the name is impossible.

There is something infinitely pathetic in the religious separations of slow-tongued, warm-hearted Scotland. It is told of Bishop A. P. Forbes that he was once heard to exclaim, as he stood looking out from the cliffs above Stonehaven on the troubled sea, 'What has Scotland done to be so divided?' It was as the dawning of a better day for the cause of Christian unity that the union of the churches was hailed four years ago. Now that a grave misfortune has befallen the United Free Church which then came into being, we shall not be misunderstood as impeaching the administration of justice, if with the Bishop of Worcester we speak of the situation thus created as 'a disaster of the most serious magnitude to the whole community.' Yet, if it is met with courage, dignity, and hope, the final issue cannot be uncertain.

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## ART. IV.—BOOKS OF DEVOTION.

1. *Books of Devotion.* By the Rev. CHARLES BODINGTON, M.A., Canon and Treasurer of Lichfield. (London: Longmans, 1903.)
2. *Prayers and Meditations on the Life of Christ.* By THOMAS HAEMERKEN À KEMPIS. Translated by W. DUTHOIT, D.C.L. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1904.)
3. *Hymns of the Christian Centuries.* Compiled by Mrs. PERCEVAL MACKRELL. (London: G. Allen, 1903.)
4. *The Preces Privatae of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester.* Translated with an Introduction and Notes by F. E. BRIGHTMAN, M.A., Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford and Canon of Lincoln. (London: Methuen, 1903.)
5. *Praeparatio, or Notes of Preparation for Holy Communion.* With a Preface by the Rev. GEORGE CONGREVE, M.A., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. (London: Longmans, 1903.)
6. *Saying Grace Historically considered.* By HENRY LANCELOT DIXON, M.A. (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1903.)
7. *The Holy Days.* Vignettes in verse. By I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Hon. LL.D. (London: G. Allen, 1900.)
8. *Common Prayers for Family Use.* By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., late Bishop of Durham. (London: Macmillan, 1903.)
9. *Light, Life, and Love.* Selections from the German Mystics of the Middle Ages. By W. R. INGE, M.A. (London: Methuen and Co., 1904.)
10. *A Little Book of Mystical Wisdom.* Selections from the Writings of some English Prose Mystics. Edited by Eleanor C. Gregory. (London: Methuen, 1904.)
11. *Prayers, Psalms, and Lessons for the Household.* By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. (London: Longmans, 1904.)
12. *Bands of Love.* Intercessions, &c., &c. With a Preface by J. C. FITZGERALD, of the Community of the Resurrection. (London: Mowbray and Co., 1904.)

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ONE of the results, an important one, of the 'Oxford Movement' was that it gave a stimulus to prayer. This is, indeed, one of the proofs that the Movement was, in reality, not mainly ecclesiastical, but deeper still. It touched the hidden springs of human action. For prayer, whether all men acknowledge this or not, is a necessity of man's nature. The creature is dependent on the Creator. The weekday service, the Daily Prayer of the Church, has, indeed, made little, if any, progress in popularity since 1845. The daily service, where it was to be found, was more eagerly resorted to then than now by young men. That was due in part to the charm of novelty. Nor is it likely that our churches will ever be full of worshippers on a weekday in England till we realize that busy people cannot turn a working-day into a Sunday, cannot always, nor often, be in church on a weekday before service begins, nor stay invariably till service is over. They must be content often with a portion of the service: a psalm, a lesson, a Creed, a collect. More elasticity, not in our Prayer Book, but in our own stiff insular ways is what we want. The whole service is rich in delights for the leisurely; it is tranquillizing, elevating, a foretaste of the bliss of Heaven. But this is not for everyone. The Italian wants to go to church for a few moments 'to see his Saviour.' The words may be well adapted to us English, and translated from the materialistic adoration of Southern Europe to a spiritual meaning. We want to go to church, if only for a very brief space of time, to see the Saviour by faith, to commune with Him in spirit. Our churches should be a second Home to us all.

Prayer is a necessity of our nature. There may be, there are, some few exceptional persons, who seem to live above set forms of devotion. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet-philosopher of the last century, a very religious man, was in the habit of 'commending himself to God' at night and morning instead of other prayer. A dean of Gloucester, not very long ago, used to drive out in his carriage at the very time when his cathedral bell was calling him to service, with the excuse on his lips, that he needed not set devotions at stated hours. And there are those who go on their way, day by day,

without the recognition of a Father in Heaven. But most people seem neither to be above prayer nor below it. They know themselves to be surrounded with difficulties and dangers, visible and invisible; they know their own frailties; and for them books of devotion are truly helpful. Books of this kind are not a substitute for the outpouring of the thoughts and desires of each individual soul. The right way of using them is as a training and preparation for the expression of what each Christian has to say to his Saviour in his private devotions.

The beginning of the Revival gave birth to many Manuals of Devotion. Dean Chandler of Chichester led the way with his *Horae Sacrae*, a singularly happy selection of private prayers from older writers, and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce with *Eucharistica*, a similar manual for Holy Communion. Canon Kennaway's *Comfort for the Afflicted* and *Voices of Comfort* by Mr. Fosbery of Reading, both books of real value, though not manuals of private prayer, may take place in the same category. In both *Horae Sacrae* and *Eucharistica* it is worthy of note that not a few of the best prayers come from our Nonjurors, Hickes, Spincks, and others. The recently issued books at the head of this Article are a worthy contribution to our Library of Private Devotion.

Canon Bodington's delightful volume belongs to the well known 'Library of Practical Theology,' under the editorship of Canon Newbolt and Mr. Darwell Stone, late Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. It is an exhaustive survey of Christian books of private devotion from the earliest time down to our own. For such a task no ordinary requirements are necessary—abundant learning, largeness of sympathy, discrimination. Canon Bodington seems singularly fitted for his task. His rich stores of historical information never overlay the freshness and vitality of his subject, never obscure the practical application of the past to the circumstances of to-day; from first to last the book is saturated with the devotional spirit, without which theological disquisitions are simply worth nothing. The chapters on the 'Devotions of our Lord' and on 'Devotions to the Saints' are especially interesting. The writer realizes devoutly the actuality of the Incarnation, the

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fundamental truth of our faith, which some pious Christians seem nowadays to shrink from accepting in its integrity. In Chapter IX. on 'Devotions to the Saints' he shows that the practice was not unknown in early days. At the same time he is aware of the dangerous tendency, exemplified by experience, of such invocations, which in the impulsiveness of aspiration have sometimes substituted the saint for the Saviour, in forgetfulness of the great truth that it is only through Him that we have communion with the saints at rest, not that we approach Christ through them.

In the earlier editions of the *Lyra Apostolica* Newman wrote of Saints in Paradise :

' They are at rest ;  
We may not scare the sweetness of repose  
By rude invoking voice nor prayer address  
In waywardness to those  
Who by the sacred grotts of Eden lie,  
And hear the fourfold river as it murmurs by.'

In his wise and thoughtful Preface, Canon Bodington calls attention to the lamentable indifference, too common now in England as on the Continent, to the Christian faith. 'If the boys in our schools and the young men in our colleges see devotion to Christ and to the extension of His Kingdom manifested before their eyes in their teachers, they will not become Pagan, but Christian English gentlemen.' Too often English people, like Sir Mathew Hale, seem shy of avowing their Christianity.

Some very beautiful books of devotion came to us in England from the Latin Church. Dr. Pusey translated and adapted to the use of the English Church Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat* ; a more recent edition is by the Rev. W. H. (now Archdeacon) Hutchings ; and there is one, without the name of the editor (Rivingtons, 1875), which retains some passages unsuitable for those who belong to our Communion. Scupoli's book was the outcome, not only of much experience as a spiritual director, but of a very severe personal affliction. It is helpful, accordingly, to those who feel more acutely than others the cruel and insidious onslaught of the adversary.

The world-known *Imitatio Christi*<sup>1</sup> hardly needs mention. This little book, like Keble's *Christian Year* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, has been the support and guide of many even among those who stand away from the doctrines which it embodies and illustrates. It has been objected to Thomas à Kempis that he seems sometimes to ascribe something meritorious to the efforts of God's Saints, and even to foster a mercenary motive as if the reward were the main thing. One must in fairness remember how any such apparent blemishes are cancelled by other passages of a quite contrary import. That there is a danger, as the experiences of the cloister testify, in all efforts after saintliness to sink into a kind of spiritual selfishness in the pursuit of holiness cannot be denied. S. T. Coleridge called it 'Other-worldliness.'

The learned translator of à Kempis' *Prayers and Meditations on the Life of Christ* gives us a very careful edition of this interesting book. He follows the text of the edition of Michael Joseph Pohl, Ph.D., Director of the Royal Gymnasium, Berlin, and the translation is well done. A book like this, twining our prayers and praises round the Life and Personality of Jesus, is a great help in the endeavour to 'grow in Him' daily. A little manual of *Prayers for Every Hour*, published not long ago by Parker, has this merit also.

Less time and thought would be wasted on interminable and unedifying disputes about minutiae of ritual, there would be less anxiety and fearfulness about the assertions of modern Criticism, which in reality need alarm only those who make an idol of every word in the Bible, and the jarring controversies of sectarianism would be stilled, if in our devotion we clung more closely to the Life and Death and Resurrection of the Saviour.

Canon Brightman deserves many thanks for his admirably complete presentation of Bishop Andrewes' *Preces Privatae*. The duty and the delight of intercession have perhaps never been so fully exemplified as in this precious book. The scarcely conscious lisping of a little child at his mother's

<sup>1</sup> We are glad to say that a translation of à Kempis' *Lives of the Brothers* will ere long be published in London.

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knee expand, as the 'full stature' in Christ is attained, to the comprehensiveness of these devotions,

'like circles widening still  
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The devotions are re-arranged for practical use from the chaotic Sibylline leaves in which they existed originally. Bishop Andrewes in life and teaching was a shining light in a foolish and ill-ordered Court. There is something (as James Mozley has said) of Thomas Carlyle in his manner.

It would be but inadequate praise to say that the beautiful little volume which lies before us supersedes all previous editions for English readers. The editor's task has evidently been 'a labour of love,' and he has given us of his best. Mr. Brightman acknowledges his obligation to Newman and Neale, but the wide patristic and liturgical knowledge and the almost meticulous accuracy which characterize his own work have been used here to trace to its source or to illustrate by some felicitous comparison nearly every word of the original. The task was one which few men, perhaps, were competent to undertake, and fewer still would have had the patience to complete, but as we turn over Mr. Brightman's pages we confess with gratitude that it was well worth doing.

Perhaps it would have been better to give a less archaic name to *Praeparatio*. The book itself is simple and practical, but possibly the Latin title may repel some who would otherwise find the book salutary and enjoyable. The thoughts which it suggests are founded on the Collect, Epistle, Gospel for the day, and are intended for devout persons not only before but after receiving Holy Communion. Without being meagre, these suggestions are not too prolix, even for busy people; and they are spontaneous—not forced, not elaborate. Such a book tends to deepen the intelligent love of Church-people for the Prayer Book. One is reminded of Isaac Williams's very beautiful meditations on the Holy Week, &c. Father Congreve prefixes a thoughtful and eloquent Preface.

*Light, Life, and Love* belongs to the *Library of Devotion* published by Methuen and Co. It is a delightful pendant to Mr. Inge's deeply interesting 'Bampton Lectures' on Christian

Mysticism. All who can appreciate the lecturer's scholarly, sensible, reverent treatment of this great subject will be glad to have the practical outcome of his studies condensed into this little book, which regards mysticism in its practical and devotional aspect rather than in its daring intellectual flights.

No one need be deterred from these selected specimens of mediæval mysticism in Germany, by the dread of being lost in an atmosphere of cloud and fog. Mr. Inge distinguishes very clearly, in his introduction to this volume (as in his lectures) between the sane mysticism, which occupies itself with devout musings on the great mysteries of the Christian faith, and which is essentially contemplative or meditative in a practical sense, and the fantastic speculations of morbid visionaries. For example, there is a vein of the purer mysticism in such manuals of piety as *Imitatio Christi* or Keble's *Christian Year* which is far removed from the ravings of those Beguines and Beghards who were roving mendicants during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in central Europe. The introduction, brief as it is, and condensed, is an excellent summary and a very discriminating criticism of the practical bearing on life and conduct of the school of Eckhart in the fourteenth century. This is followed by well-chosen extracts from the writings of Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroek, and the chief pre-Reformation mystics in Germany. It is noteworthy that mysticism, alike for good and for evil, has found a more congenial soil among Teutonic races than among the more volatile Latin or semi-Latin races of southern Europe. Probably a truer, sounder psychology from the beginning might have done much to save mysticism from excesses and aberrations.

A companion volume to Mr. Inge's in the same series is *Selections from the Writings of some English Prose Mystics*, edited by Miss Gregory. The title should rather be 'from the prose writings &c.,' for some of the authors from whose works the extracts are taken have written poetry; and it is hardly exact to class Charles Kingsley as a mystic with the Cambridge Platonists. The selection, however, is well made from a wide range of reading, including passages from some well-known

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writers, such as George Macdonald, who are with us still. There is a concise and interesting introduction and a useful index list at the end of the book, giving the dates of all the authors not now alive. One may hope that the editor, having accomplished this part of her work so well, will give us presently another batch of similar selections in poetry. There is much to be done in that way. Even in Shelley, for instance, our Lucretius, not a few mystical passages of transcendent beauty may be found.

The selected passages are grouped under three heads: concerning God, concerning Man and All Creation, and concerning the Way. It is unfortunate that selections from James Hinton's beautiful thoughts on the *Mystery of Pain* had to be omitted, apparently for want of permission to reprint. Nor is anything taken from Richard Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. Erskine of Linlathen represents well what there is or has been of mysticism in Scotland. The 'canny' temperament of North Britain seems uncongenial to mysticism, though apt at abstract speculation generally. England, on the contrary, has been rich in mystical writers; and Miss Gregory rightly observes (in the wake of Mr. Inge) that English mysticism has been of a more sober and solid kind than the Continental. More, Whichcote, John Smith, far from disparaging, extolled reason. It was a reaction from the dreamland of Erigena and Eckhart. The English mystics differ also from their brothers in Germany by being more loyal to the teaching and practice of the Church.

Already there is abundance, if not a surfeit, of books for Family Prayers. In most, however, there is too great diffuseness and too little simplicity. The special feature of Canon Newbolt's little book, *Prayers, Psalms, and Lessons for the Household*, is that it contains a selection of Psalms, arranged for seasons penitential and jubilant. This is a step towards a consummation greatly to be desired. Beautiful as is the Prayer Book Psalter, its beauty would be much enhanced for devotional use if the Psalms throughout were assigned to different seasons and days, as now at Christmas, Easter, &c. Mr. Newbolt also gives Readings ('Lessons') from the Bible, arranged for various occasions. Those 'for

General Reading' are taken exclusively from the Old Testament. The New can be read without the aid of a selecting process.

*Bands of Love* is a book likely to be very helpful to those who try to 'give themselves to prayer.' It is suggestive; it suggests for whom intercession should be made; it suggests how the intercession should spring from thinking devoutly of something in the earthly Life and Ministry of the Saviour; in every page, in every line, it reminds those who use it that prayer is no mechanical operation, but a real speaking to the Saviour. The short preface, contributed by Mr. Fitzgerald, is instinct with heavenly wisdom.

It is to be feared that the good old custom of Saying Grace before and after meals is falling into disuse in some quarters. And yet the custom is thoroughly reasonable, especially with the Teutonic race, with whom dinner has always been reckoned an important item in the day's proceedings. But we are in a hurry nowadays, and heavenly things are apt to be crowded out. As Wordsworth says, 'The world is too much with us.' The grace before the meal is a prayer; the grace after is thanksgiving. The grace before and after meals should be our recognition that all things are from God; the omission of this is, to say the least, neglectful. Mr. Dixon does good service in recalling us to a sense of the propriety of the old custom; he does not write merely as an antiquary while tracing the custom far back in the past and collecting quaint specimens of various forms of 'Grace,' especially from our public schools and colleges. Who that has been at one of our old universities does not remember the time-honoured Latin words recited in hall, sometimes by a shy young scholar, whose sole object often seems to be to recite the formula in one breath? Mr. Dixon quotes largely from manuals of the fifteenth century in England. In his opening remarks he alludes to the charming essay of 'Elia' on saying Grace.

*The Holy Days* is a small volume containing short poems for the several Festivals and Fasts in our Prayer Book (Sundays excepted), by the author of *Fra Angelico and other Poems*. As the title indicates, the book is a testimony to

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the deep affection which our Prayer Book can inspire, even in this Babel of controversy, where, as in John Keble, its gentle influence is allowed to penetrate and permeate the heart. Now and then in these pages the lines are a commemorative tribute to some of the saints of our own day whom we have seen and known.

We have said that there are already almost too many forms for Family Prayer, yet everyone will welcome as a last legacy from Bishop Lightfoot's saintly successor the little book which stands eighth on our list. It is characterized by Bishop Westcott's heavenly largeness of sympathy, by the 'free spirit' which animated him. In these days, when members of our Church disregard the Friday Fast (it was not so in the early days of 'Tractarianism'), it is well to observe that the Bishop marks that day by special devotions in remembrance of the Cross and of the Crucified.

It is a question how far this multiplicity and variety of devotional books are altogether for good. Certainly, for each person singly it is better to adhere to one or two books of the kind at most. For, after all, the real usefulness of such aids to devotion is that they train the soul to commune with God and with itself, and teach it how to shape its devout longings rightly. Thus the life and the conscience become imbued with heavenly thoughts and desires, so that there is no longer room left for the intrusion of what is evil. One should learn by heart the best parts of such books, and then the need of the book ceases. Again, it is questionable whether meditation, in the formal sense of the word, can ever be an integral part of the life of Western Christians generally. To some it is wholesome and delightful, because the habit is congenial. To others, however, it seems irksome, formal, mechanical. Yet there are many simple souls, who find enough in a single thought or text to make the heart overflow with rapture. A pious but illiterate Egyptian monk in the fourth century asked a more learned brother to tell him a verse in the Psalms to meditate upon. He was to come back for another verse by-and-by. When he returned he said that he had not yet finished thinking about the first verse. 'I thank you

kindly for the tracts,' said a West-country labourer some years ago, 'but I can do with my Bible and Prayer Book.' Another poor man, a devout communicant but 'no scholar,' had no other words to bring with him to the Holy Communion than 'God be merciful to me a sinner!' and 'O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on me.'

After all, our Prayer Book in itself supplies plentiful materials both for private devotion and for the special services now in vogue. Really, there is hardly need to go beyond its contents for either purpose. There is a remarkable adaptability about the Collects, &c. Some little time ago the Primate, who more than others in the last century had the insight of genius, selected some six or seven of the Collects for use as intercession for the Church in days of peril. Could any modern composition surpass or equal these time-honoured cadences? Similarly, the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, &c., lend themselves with singular fitness to almost every occasion in our lives. With these rich resources within reach and close at hand, what need we more? A day will surely come when the copious variety of tone and mood in the Psalter will be turned to better account, each psalm being assigned to the day or season for which it is most appropriate, as was suggested by Sir William Muir a few years ago in a very interesting pamphlet.

Why is prayer so indispensable an element in religion? Because it is the outcome of the trustfulness which surrenders itself to God. The notion that prayer is merely asking for what we want is altogether inadequate. It includes thanksgiving, praise, confession; it is a dialogue of the soul with heaven. 'Seek ye My face. Thy face, Lord, will I seek.' And in this free communing of the spirit in man, which is man's very self, with the Spirit above, the devout worshipper pours out everything before his Maker, Saviour, Sanctifier. Even in asking there is, or should be, complete resignation of self to God. 'Thy will, not mine, be done'—'as may be most expedient for us.' Ask we must, even for ourselves. For the Father bids His children ask; the Saviour promises

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an answer to the faithful prayer; the Spirit prompts it. We are simply ungrateful if we ask not. But, after all, the soul has much more to say to God than to solicit alms. Prayer in its fullest, truest sense is the surrender of the will. Self-sacrifice in its every form is man's noblest effort. When the will of man in prayer yields and surrenders itself to Christ, then the sacrifice of self attains its highest development; for it is the sacrifice of self to the highest object. Merely formal utterance of prayer is nothing. It is the intention which makes prayer what it is in the sight of Him Who knows all things.

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#### ART. V.—A NEW WAY IN APOLOGETIC.

*Reason and Revelation: An Essay in Christian Apology.*  
By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A., D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1903.)

#### I

IN this book Dr. Illingworth has given us his best work. He has not attempted to write a formal treatise on Apologetic, but he has given us a discussion of certain preliminaries, and his discussion is throughout interesting and illuminating. His philosophy remains Hegelian, and herein alone does the present writer find serious cause of difference. To him, philosophy and theology alike seem better served by Kant's Practical Reason than by Hegel's characteristic conception of the Absolute. But, about all such things, let everyone 'be fully persuaded in his own mind.'

A great part of Dr. Illingworth's work, however, is independent of his philosophy, and this part is wholly valuable. That he has made the conception of the mediating and edifying Church integral in Christian Apologetic is not the least of his services to faith, but, perhaps, a wider interest attaches to his discussion—fuller than the similar discussion in Mr. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*—of Christian presuppositions, for this prepares the way for the thought that the

Christian creed is *not* a group of isolated doctrines which have, in some way, to be fitted into a cosmology quite independent of them both in historical basis and philosophical ground. Rather is the Christian creed, when made fully articulate, itself a cosmology. Just as Religion, in its characteristic essence, implies a particular attitude towards the world, so Christianity is a particular view of the world, with its own distinctive foundations in history and experience, and its own distinctive grounds in thought.

Its philosophical ground, however, is not provincial. As one of the essays in *Lux Mundi* so eloquently sets forth, it is the general ground of all human knowledge and endeavour. Therefore, the philosophy of the Christian faith involves a general philosophy of the world and of human life.

With such a work as this before us, it seems opportune to ask—What are the leading conceptions in the philosophy of the Christian religion, and how can they be developed into a general view of things?

Before, however, passing on to a preliminary attempt to answer these questions, there is one more point, arising directly out of Dr. Illingworth's book, which calls for notice. Dr. Illingworth makes apologetic use of the fact that Christianity *appeals* to the whole of human nature. But, surely, the ultimate thought is that Christianity *completes* the whole of human nature. In this sense only does the *appeal* to human nature seem to be of apologetic value.

## II.

Probably most of us who, in this generation, have essayed independent adventure into those less accessible regions of thought wherein lie hidden the subtle treasures of philosophy have passed through some longer or shorter time when all that we had previously judged to be most certain—all that the plain man ordinarily conceives himself to *know*—has faded into an unsubstantial shadow-play of private constructions and imaginings. If we then still seemed to know anything, that residuary something was only a momentary *cogito*, which permitted no inference to a wider and more significant *sum*.

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From this dissolution of those compacted certainties which are the content of everyday knowledge the plain man, not disturbed by any vocation to Thought's more arduous adventures, is happily exempt. He conceives the world and the processes of the world as *data*—as given to him in an immediacy of apprehension which, by leaving no room for any private or 'subjective' construction, effectually excludes those ultimate doubts that make more than one pathway to truth terrible.

In this uncriticized immediacy he finds knowledge, and in this knowledge, because of this immediacy, he rests content; he does not doubt that in it he has the essential truth of things. He will, of course, admit that he is ignorant of many things—although not with such breadth of humble-minded intention as good-natured reformers sometimes suppose—but he conceives the things which he does not know to be as immediately accessible to observation as seem to be the things that he knows. He is reluctant to admit that there can be any disclosure of truth otherwise than in and through 'knowledge'; his superstitions—even his political superstitions—are empirical, his religion is factual, and his apologetic is a miscellany of unconnected 'proofs' which end in certainties by ignoring subtleties.

Probably the unclouded assurance of this uncriticized gnosticism—for the plain man characteristically walks by knowledge, or by what he thinks to be knowledge, rather than by faith—is unattainable by those who have once honestly explored the wider ranges of doubt. The disintegration of the 'merely given' has been so complete that the recovery of it, as *merely given*, is impossible. And yet the last analyses of doubt are not the last and predominant conclusions of experience. However remote the unfrequented distance to which doubt ultimately leads those who follow it sincerely, there is a practicable way back from that solitude to the familiar sanctities and successful industry of man's common life.

Doubt is speculative, and it enters Mansoul only through Mind-gate. But man is not only and wholly speculative; he is also, by the promptings of his deepest needs, acquisitive

and creative, and in his age-long endeavour to acquire and create he has beaten out for himself, through his nearer environment, paths along which he can more or less fully achieve his ends. Now, these paths remain serviceable after thought has disintegrated the certainties upon which men supposed them to rest. Along these paths man has discovered the natural sciences and his political art, and, as subserving his need-inspired purpose, these have a practical value which is in no way diminished by the speculative victories of doubt. Those victories may paralyze thought and make philosophy bankrupt, but, even though this happen, the pursuits that subserve those needs which are ordinarily called 'practical' will continue to yield results of undiminished value.

Because of this we are sometimes told that man should curb the promptings of his merely speculative curiosity, and should seek content in practical achievement, and in inquiries which he can conduct by methods already accredited by empirical success. Now, it is undoubtedly true that man can find in natural science and in politics, as also in the more narrowly practical activities that minister to his daily need for bread, a certain kind and a certain measure of content. Nor is this content necessarily ignoble. Politics, for example, when generously interpreted and magnanimously pursued, is the highest of human activities, the most liberal of human disciplines. To it the results of religion and science are but instrumental; in it the mind that science has informed, the judgment that thought has disciplined, the heart that religion has renewed, find inspiring opportunity and commanding invitation. But, however many the interests and needs that these pursuits, severally, more or less satisfy, there are others which they do not touch, or touch only to accentuate.

Man, by the primary necessities of his life, is impelled to *do*, and his endeavour and his success have their own characteristic and concomitant satisfaction, over and above that which directly arises from the satisfying of the impelling need. But the satisfaction thus concomitant upon outward effort and achievement is only partial; it does not completely satisfy the whole of human nature. Besides the

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needs that impel him to *do*, man has other needs which constrain him to *be*, and these—although, it may be, dormant at first and scarcely felt—become, in his later history, so important that in certain moods and in certain emergencies, if not always, he unhesitatingly believes them to be completely sovereign over his life. These other needs find distinctive expression in his moral ideals, which invite him to become what at present he is not, which attract him by their portrayal of life's completeness, and, at the parting of alternative ways of conduct, mark *this* as better than *that*.

Nor is this desire for a certain intrinsic quality and character of life one which can be satisfied independently of man's need for outward achievement. The moral ideal is sovereign over the whole of man's life. As an ideal of completeness of life it sets limits to his preoccupation with the 'practical' by pointing to more excellent interests which cannot be ignored without manhood being the narrower and life the poorer—without, it may be, defects in charity and errors in judgment. As discriminating between right and wrong it judges all our purposed actions—at least all those—and, by condemning *this* end and *that* means as unlawful, makes the range of our practical activities narrower than it would be were we free to obey the prompting of every impulse and to accept the invitation of every opportunity. We all of us live otherwise than we should were the moral ideal absent from our lives.

But in accepting this limitation are we entirely wise? Our practical ends are, we know, in greater or less degree, attainable, for, in greater or less degree, we actually attain them. But those other ends, for the sake of which we forego practical gains which lie close at hand—are they also attainable? Is the claim of the moral ideal to be supremely sovereign over life a reasonable claim? Is that better and more complete life to which the moral ideal calls us actually possible and can the 'ethical' and the 'practical,' with their different ends and contrasted interests, be honestly and completely reconciled in the activities of individual life—of each individual life?

We are sometimes told that ethics can and should be independent of metaphysics: these questions imply that it is dependent. Sometimes, too, we are told that the emotional quality of the good life—the fact that it is *felt* to be good is, by itself, a sufficient warrant for our endeavours after it: these questions show that we need assurance not only that the good life is veritably good, but also that the achievement of it is possible and effort after it prudent. We need assurance that goodness is not merely an accident of history, and that the felt value of the good life illustrates something more than the idiosyncrasy of an accidental temperament.

### III.

It is obvious that the problems we have now reached carry us beyond the immediate deliverances of experience. Did they not, they had never been formulated, or, at least, had never become practically important. The solution of them may conceivably be sought in one or more of four directions—in history, in natural science, in philosophy, in religion. History can, indeed, show us that men have found solutions, or what they thought to be solutions. It can show us, too, the incidents of moral change, and, it may be, the fact of moral progress. But can it show us anything else—anything else that is relevant? Nature has been variously interpreted, but inductive inquiry—which in matters of science represents the characteristic orthodoxy of our day—seems to yield no relevant results more significant than these:

- (1) That each 'successful' organism must be 'adapted' to its environment;
- (2) That the time is approaching when our planet will no longer be habitable by man; and
- (3) That the processes of nature are, apparently, non-ethical, and only incidentally subserve ethical progress.

Philosophy, it is true, proffers more than one vindication of optimism. But the best-known of these—accepting from *Erkenntniss-theorie* the doctrine that the intimate nature of ultimate reality cannot be known by man—has nothing to offer us but a postulate—the postulate that reality is actually

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what the aims and ideas of human nature apparently require it to be. But this does little more than illustrate our faith in goodness: it neither confirms nor vindicates that faith. Other doctrines, however, essay demonstration. They claim that thought can unveil reality, and, although they give widely different accounts of the nature of reality, all their accounts agree in this—that, according to them, optimism appears to be a reasonable creed. But can thought indeed unveil reality? The ideas and ideals that are regulative of our thinking—our conceptions of cause and effect, of truth, rationality, and goodness—these are the furniture of our individual minds. As such they, doubtless, disclose more or less of the nature of our minds, but can they interpret reality? Have the conclusions of thought ontological value? Can we be *certain* that the results of our thought indicate facts and relations in the intimate nature of that besetting and informing reality which we cannot conceive to be the work of our thought? It may, perhaps, be said that we assume the competence of our thought to interpret reality, and discover empirically that the assumption is valid. But the problem before us can be fully solved only by complete knowledge of the nature of the real. In this case no partial knowledge can verify a hypothetical solution, for the nature that remained unknown might conceivably invalidate all the presuppositions of our argument. Therefore, until reality were completely explored pessimism would continue to be a possible creed, for, even though our earlier explorations were favourable to our presuppositions, the later ones might reach to some non-moral ground of things whereon goodness could never be more than a transient and unpurposed incident, or to some ultimate chaos in which ethical history would come to an end, or to some final irony by which it would be deliberately frustrated.

#### IV.

Only Religion is left untried, and to it we will now turn. But, first of all, what is meant by Religion? It arises, we suggest, out of the nature of man's life as a dependent life.

According to a widely spread belief, which is reaffirmed

in the Catholic faith, man is a creation of God. As such, as a thing created, he inevitably depends upon his Creator. Again, according to a mode of philosophic thinking which is just now widely prevalent, man is part of an organic whole, and as such is inevitably dependent upon the whole in which he is constituent. But it is not because man is dependent in either and both of these ways that he is religious. Rather is it because his life has to be lived in the midst of an actively operative order which he did not make, cannot fully interpret, and cannot, save in small things, control—an order which, as existent, has the ground and cause of its being elsewhere than in him, and, as active, works along paths determined for it otherwise than by his nature and his will. This order, in whatever way he construes it—whether as singular or plural, personal or non-personal, divine or 'natural'—he always, when religious, believes to be, although independent of him, neither unresponsive to his effort nor indifferent to his faith. In the midst of this environing activity man is himself active, and the ends of his activity are determined for him by intimate facts of his own essential nature. His own nature marks out for man the ends of his protean endeavour, and in this way determines for him the *desirable*, the good; but that besetting nature which is not his own determines the *attainable*. Is the desired also and always attainable, or does man's desire reach out beyond the limits of his possible achievement? Is reality hostile, or neutral, or friendly? Religion rests upon the belief that it is friendly, or can be made friendly.

We must be careful to notice that this practical dependence of man's life does not, in and by itself, constitute religion. Did it, men would all be religious, for not only are all men dependent, but, in the highest things, all men are equally dependent. Nor is religion constituted by recognition of this dependence, for that recognition may but make the proud revolt and the feeble despair. Dependence and the recognition of dependence are only the ground of religion: religion itself is constituted by faith—by a trust that precludes revolt and a hope which prevents despair. It consists, therefore, in a certain practical attitude towards the

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world ; it lives in a certain practical determination of conduct, and in a certain character which that determination of conduct not only presupposes but builds up. Therefore religion is constituted by a certain ethical disposition ; but, wherever we find this disposition, there we also find, inseparably associated with it, a larger or smaller apparatus of ancillary beliefs and practices. These beliefs are ontological, the practices are methodological, and together they purport to establish or disclose such relations between man and his environment as rescue, more or less completely, the efforts to which they are relevant from the menace of fear or the paralysis of doubt. In this way they are ancillary to optimism, or to the beginnings of optimism. The ethical disposition to which they are complementary may be called the 'subjective aspect' of religion, but this 'subjective aspect' never exists without these 'objective' complements. Ethical disposition and complementary beliefs and practices are necessary constituents in everything which can properly be called religion.

It thus appears that religion exists, not for its own sake, but to subserve the practical ends of human life, and it subserves them by dispelling fear, by removing doubt, by confirming hope. It may be that, in its earlier stages, it ministers to elementary needs and fears by savage rites of sacrifice and wizardry, but in the adult majesty of its later growth it professes to man's holiest aspirations a ministry of consummating grace, to his deepest needs a message of prevailing love, and in the Eucharistic presentation of the worshipper's complete self consecrates the whole of life's energies to life's highest purpose. Speaking at first through crude and fragmentary imaginings to man's awakening wonder and earliest fear, it brings to the widest curiosity of his mature thought a theology that implies a complete philosophy, and meets his ultimate doubts by subsuming all human ends and natural processes under the purpose of a charity which has neither limit nor defect.

Religion, therefore, is essentially relevant to those pre-eminent questions which arise out of the contrast between man's ethical vocation and the apparently non-ethical nature of his controlling environment ; and not only is it relevant to

these questions, but it attempts to answer them, or, at least furnishes materials for an answer.

Now, what are the credentials of religious doctrine? Has religion a 'private view' of reality? Is it informed by a private communication of truth? Can it make certain that which, apart from it, had been only probable?

There are some who would persuade us that religion is wholly of earthly origin—created by man's needs and fears, informed, if by aught else than his secular experience and discovery, only by his surmise. But if religion be, in this way, wholly earthly, then obviously it can bring no increment of assured truth to the results of experience and reflective thought—it can add nothing *certain* to the *credenda* of common-sense, or to the conclusions of philosophy or science.

There have been, and still are, others who, like Staunton Moses and Dr. Anna Kingsford, would have us believe that man has, or can have, empirical knowledge of existents other than those ordinarily reviewed by philosophy and the natural sciences, and this knowledge, by those, or most of those, who claim to have it, is used religiously—in a religious spirit for religious ends.

Now, we were unwise to dismiss this with indiscriminating rejection. This alleged 'knowledge' is not wholly fictitious. Much of it comes to us well-accredited by direct testimony which we cannot lightly set aside. We may think that those who report it are sometimes mistaken in their inferences and valuations, but when they narrate their own experiences they probably narrate truly—their 'facts' are probably genuine facts, at least in the psychological order, if not in that other order which we ordinarily contrast with the psychological as 'objective.' When, therefore, we are told of these strange happenings, it were well to remember that invincible incredulity, even when buttressed by lofty pretensions, is not always a virtue. The only point that we are immediately concerned to make is this:—the proffered 'knowledge' does not contain any particulars which finally answer the ultimate questions now before us.

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blishing *post-mortem* life as probably actual, would be, of course, interesting and important, but would not in and by itself constitute or furnish a solution of the problems which arise out of the contrast between man's ethical life and his apparently non-ethical environment. Does that contrast cease at the grave? We do not know, and from the mere fact, if fact it be, that life continues beyond the grave we can draw no relevant inference. Nor does the eschatology of spiritualism contribute anything of essential importance to the discussion of these problems. The conclusions of this eschatology are determined in great part by the *post-mortem* experiences and opinions that it includes; but these experiences and opinions, even if we accept them as authentic, do not appear to contain anything which would relevantly differentiate them from the world's ordinary life and thought. At the most they reaffirm and slightly strengthen the affirmative probabilities which our doubts challenge, but the doubts themselves remain unanswered.

It is somewhat more difficult to deal with those reported visions of metaphysical reality which culminate in the vision of God. But this at least seems clear—that God Himself can never be perceived as one particular among many, and that the relevancy of these visions to the problems we are now discussing depends wholly upon interpretation. Now, interpretation is a process of human thought, and the interpretation of metaphysical particulars is no less open to the criticism which ends in doubt than is that interpretation of the particulars of ordinary experience which has given to the world its various philosophies. The direct incidence of doubt is upon human nature—upon the powers of the human mind—and we cannot escape it by merely adding a few non-decisive particulars to the factual basis of our thought.

In these last paragraphs we have considered religion as informed only through man's reflection and inquiry, and through his empirical discovery, real or alleged, of particular existents. There remains, however, another possibility which we have not as yet noticed. It may be that religion, if not in all its many forms, at least in some one or more of them, mediates to man truth which he could not otherwise

possess, and that this imparted truth is sufficient against doubt.

All natural religions, including spiritualism and certain forms of belief which we ordinarily class under mysticism, are constituted by man's religious use of facts which, although patient of that use, have not their final cause in that use. May there not, however, be facts which exist only or primarily for the purposes of religion—which mediate a revelation of certain and assured truth that man could not discover, as certain and assured, by his own powers?

A critic, premising, and rightly premising, that these facts, if actual, would be facts of 'outward experience,' might object that this conception of a revelation mediated by such facts improperly narrows the idea of revelation by excluding the thought of a non-mediated theophany in the soul's inner life. But does such a theophany ever occur? We read of 'organs of Divine apprehension,' but we know that God, in the essential reality of His Being, is not apprehensible by man. We hear of a besetting Presence, known as besetting, and of an indwelling Spirit, known as indwelling; but it seems probable that in this we have, not a simple record of experience, but a record transformed by interpretation. That which is actually given in the experiences so reported consists of emotional states, and these, whatever their value, cannot resolve our doubts. From a present peace we cannot infer optimism.

Returning, then, to the thought of a revelation historically mediated by facts which have their final cause in that revelation, let us ask whether there be such a revelation. The answer is obvious. The Christian religion, if no other, claims to possess precisely this character.

Now, what is the Christian religion? In its 'objective aspect' it is both a body of beliefs and a discipline of characters, and it rests upon two facts, of which it is the final cause. The primary of these facts—the first in order of time and the first in religious importance—is construed by Christian thought to have been the Incarnation of God. The other fact is the Christian society known as the Church Catholic.

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The 'taking of the manhood into God' which constituted the Incarnation—in all this we are for the present simply expository—showed that human nature, and therefore the ideals and ends of human nature, is ethically at one with ultimate and sovereign reality. But this assumption of manhood was not costless. It involved a self-emptying of God which could not have been brought about by aught else than Love—Love for man; and the love thus manifest in the fact of incarnation was yet more persuasively shown in the character of the Incarnate Life and in the death to which that life led. This death—whereby the work of the Incarnate Life had been apparently frustrated—was followed by a Resurrection. Now, death did not put an end to the Incarnation. He who rose again was and is God Incarnate, and after forty days God and man in the one Christ ascended into heaven, to be thenceforth there eternally regnant.

After yet other days the Christian society was constituted—constituted by the act of God, and not by the will of men, although through the obedience of men—constituted to carry on through all future earthly history the mediating work of the Incarnate Life; and that society still exists and still does its appointed work. The Christian religion is the religion that, going back ultimately to the Incarnate Life, rests immediately, for us who to-day receive it as true, upon the 'ancillary apparatus of belief and practice' which exists in the Christian society.

## V

These, then, are the essentials of the Christian religion. But is that religion true? Are its doctrines true, and does it achieve the ends for which it exists?

Let us, however, begin this new inquiry by asking a slightly different question: Why do we to-day believe the Christian religion to be true?

(1) We believe it to be true because it satisfies our intellectual and our moral needs—because through it we find Christ's gift of peace a present benediction.

The greatest and most characteristic triumphs of the Cross are over human sinfulness—over the impure heart, the selfish

purpose, the rebellious will. It is as the Saviour of men that Christ is most evidently set forth—not only in the Evangelical narratives and Apostolic writings, but by the daily witness of His Church. Whatever else the Christian religion directly or indirectly accomplishes, its primary mission, and its most distinctive work as an operative agency in history, is to save men from their sins. So characteristic is this of the religion that no man can rightly be called a Christian who does not himself, in his own life, feel the need of this salvation, and who does not receive the Christian ministry of grace as primarily, for himself, a ministry unto salvation. But to be saved from sin is not the only need of man, nor is salvation from sin the only gift of Christ—the only thing accomplished by the ministry and witness of His Church. The slowly-working centuries have wrought out for man a spiritual ideal which is an ideal of life's completeness. The possibilities of his nature point out beyond all his actual achievements to completely developed manhood and completely harmonized character, and only in the thought of this completeness can his thought, when it essays to interpret his vocation, find rest. Short of this completeness there is defect, and although defect be not always sin, it implies more or less of failure and entails more or less of unrest. This way of thinking is not distinctively Christian; but when Christian thought becomes speculative in ethics, it follows this way or leads towards it—if not always, at least in its most characteristic ventures. It does so because in the Christian religion itself there are elements which predispose to this way. The first Christian philosopher—himself the greatest missionary of the gospel of salvation—tells us that the gifts of the Spirit are for

'the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ; until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

One of the greatest sons of the mediæval Church found in a human character God's highest praise; and there have, moreover, never wanted Christian teachers (co-operant herein with Jewish rabbis) to bear witness that things created are mirrors of the Uncreated Glory. To this last thought, too, a

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directly ethical application has been given. 'Man's chief end,' we are told, 'is to glorify God.' But how can any life that is less than complete perfectly set forth the glory of the Most Perfect? Man's vocation seems to transcend the highest range of achievement open to him. Nor is this all, for, when reflective thought has once awakened in any society, sooner or later there will arise the question: 'Is this transcendent ideal valid, or does it but mislead men into useless conflict with an intolerant environment, into useless struggle against predominant forces that inevitably work out to quite other results?'

This question those who accept the Christian religion as true find sufficiently answered in the doctrine that God is Love. And to them that doctrine is not merely an article in an academic creed. They find the Divine Love illustrated in history in the fact of the Incarnation, interpreted by the Resurrection and Ascension, evidently set forth in the work of the Incarnate Life, presently operative in the unceasing ministry of the Church, and, whatever, the questionings of doubt, the uplifted Cross quickens their faith into the triumphant rejoinder: 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him freely give us all things?'

So *Regnabit a ligno Deus*.

(2) But how does the Christian religion accomplish this? By its practical efficacy in the formation and discipline of character, and in the guidance and information of thought. It does what we should expect a true religion to do.

We have said that the Christian religion, as the religion of the Incarnation, confirms our faith against the disintegration of doubt. It does this by the speculative value of its characteristic *credenda*. If we regard the Christian religion simply as a doctrinal system, it need not fear comparison with any of the great intellectual constructions which illuminate history; but the appeal of Christianity is not primarily or distinctively a speculative appeal, nor is the speculative value of its doctrinal representations ever fully disclosed to the 'pure intellect.' Somewhat of probability those representations must, of course, ordinarily be judged to possess before men accept the

practical ministry to which they point. Doctrine is essentially involved in the gospel of salvation, and even the first acceptance of that gospel, the first advance towards it, presupposes certain intellectual assents; but the final repose of thought in the Christian *credenda* is brought about, not simply by speculative enquiry or by dialectical essays, but partly and primarily by personal experience of the efficacy of the Christian religion as a moral agent.

Now, wherein does that efficacy consist? Primarily in the actual edifying of manhood into the likeness of those ideals which man himself recognizes as the highest. Nor is this the work of any elements in the Christian religion which can be separated from the doctrinal representations of that religion, and have an independent life of their own as purely ethical and non-speculative. It is the result of the Christian religion *as a whole*. The 'objective' validity of Christian ethics is dependent upon the truth of the essential Christian doctrines—or, rather, of that view of the world which the Christian religion sets forth—and the practical efficacy of the Christian discipline of life is so far dependent upon belief in Christian doctrine that where belief is feeble or fragmentary, there the power of that discipline is weakened.

(3) The Christian *credenda*, therefore, are not a number of separate doctrines handed down to us by some independent tradition of 'pure thought.' They are part of the tradition of the Christian society, inseparably implicated in the life of that society, and, as practically operative in its ministrant work, they so far constitute an organic *complexus* of thought that, for example, the doctrine of the Divine Love is not isolated from the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Church, nor *these* from *that*. It is in this way—through the historical tradition of a living society—that they become integral in the thought of the world's ever-changing present; it is in this form—as inseparably implicated in the Church's life—that they win belief.

Thus the Christian society, the witnessing and edifying Church, is the ground of Christian belief.

Some would set forth the Holy Scriptures as the 'impregnable rock' upon which our present-day faith is built, and we need not make haste to point out the philosophical

inadequacy of the New Church tradition against the Church. It is to be that the way is disposed in those living probably ordinary apart from himself knows Christian of the ledge repenting to society.

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inadequacy of the conception, if it be clearly understood that the New Testament itself has emerged out of the life of the Church, and that Holy Scripture as a whole is part of the tradition of the Church. We must, however, be watchful against every attempt to separate the Scriptures from the Church, and to establish them in isolated authority. It may be that in missionary fields the Scriptures sometimes prepare the way for the Church, and, more or less independently, predispose men to the Gospel; but it seems improbable that, even in those fields, they ever accomplish conversion apart from the living voice of the missionary Church. At home that improbability is greatly increased, because in Christendom it is ordinarily impossible for a man to receive the Scriptures quite apart from the living witness of the Church. Though he be himself outside the commonwealth of God's new Israel, he knows that the Christian Church exists, he knows individual Christians, and has some idea of their beliefs, some conception of the Christian life; and all this dim and fragmentary knowledge co-operates with the written Word in bringing him to repentance, and, when penitent, his first act is, according to his knowledge, to seek fellowship in the Christian society.

There are others who would found Christian belief upon the direct operation of the Holy Spirit within the heart. This operation we, of course, believe to be a most sacred reality. But does it not furnish rather an occasion than a ground of Christian belief? We infer that operation from certain experiences which are not cognitive. As *experiences* they consist primarily in emotional states. If these be unmediated, or without visible mediation, how can they be the immediate ground of a distinctively Christian faith? Generically identical experiences occur among men of other religions. Among them also have they an apologetic value? Can similar experiences *immediately* support dissimilar creeds? The truth appears to be that experience enters into the 'foundations of belief' only as mediated by some interpretation. It enters into the foundations of Christian belief only through the mediating and interpreting work of the Christian society, which connects particular experiences with its own continuous

life, and, ultimately, with the Incarnate Life and with the Eternal Love therein made manifest. The Holy Spirit may and does visit the sons of men immediately or without visible mediation; but this visitation—or, rather, the new experience that marks but does not name it—becomes constituent in the ground of Christian belief only when interpreted—only when connected for thought with the Christian economy of grace—and to establish this connexion is part of the characteristic work of the Church. The Christian society explains religious experience by a certain doctrine concerning God, whose nature and purpose it believes to have been manifested in the historical events which it resumes and interprets in those articles of its creed that affirm the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. Some preliminary acceptance of the Christian *credenda* is presupposed by admission into the Christian society: in the fellowship of that society this preliminary belief becomes a confirmed and reasonable faith. Thus, for the purposes of apologetic, the Christian society is the ground of Christian belief.

(4) But how does the Christian fellowship produce this faith? How are we who are members of the Body of Christ brought to this faith?

We believe the cardinal Christian doctrines to be true—

(a) Because to suppose them untrue would, in our judgment, make Christian history—the existence and characteristic work and testimony of the Christian Church—inexplicable;

(b) Because they are themselves both reasonable and speculatively helpful.

It appears, therefore, that 'Christian evidences' constitute a highly complex whole. They involve the interpretation of present experience and of past history, and we may not separate the interpretation of the one from the interpretation of the other—our philosophy of ethics from our doctrine of reality, our valuation of the Christian life from our judgment upon the Christian creed.

We cannot here attempt even to indicate the details of the complex argument whereby we seek to exhibit the transition from our mediated experience to confirmed assent

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as a reasonable advance. We can only, in passing to our conclusion, refer very briefly to one or two points.

(a) If religion be, in its 'objective aspect' an 'apparatus of beliefs and practices' which are believed to disclose or establish such relations between man and his environment as dispel his fear and confirm his faith, then it seems probable that a religion can be true and completely effectual only if it be recognizably a revelation historically mediated—only if it rest upon an historical ground of which it is, and can reasonably be thought to be, the final cause. Now, the Incarnate Life, the Death, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the continuous life and work of the Christian society are believed by Christians to constitute, for the Christian religion, a ground of precisely this character; and, certainly, no more availing ministry to the ultimate needs and holiest aspirations of man can be imagined than the witness which these bear to the supreme and eternal sovereignty of Love.

(β) The Christian doctrine that God is other than the world, and that His nature is complexly personal, relieves the conception of the Personality of God from some, at least, of the difficulties that, so long as we think of Him as being simply the Whole of Things, or their Unity, appear to be insuperable, and enables us to co-ordinate physical processes and human life, with its transcendent vocation, as integral in a purposed history which is governed by God's intending will, and, therefore, by His love.

(γ) The revelation mediated through the Christian society is a revelation of the character of God as Love, and of Love as the culmination, or, more accurately, perhaps, as the consummation of human life. But this revelation is not given as a naked doctrine: it is embodied in the life of a continuous society whose primary mission is to build up the lives of men into the likeness of the ideal which it sets forth.

The Christian life is not an 'atomistic' life: it can be lived, *in its completeness*, only in and through the Christian society. Herein, 'however, is nothing strange, for human nature is not atomistic, and 'self-realization' is always in and through society.' The dependence of the Christian life upon the Christian society does but illustrate the fundamental

law of ethical development. It does not create a new lordship over the soul : it gives the soul new assistance.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, if it be true

(1) That religion exists to safeguard life against corroding doubt and benumbing fear ;

(2) That we find our most complete safeguard against doubt and fear in the doctrine of the Divine Love ;

And (3) That the evidences of this doctrine can, in their completeness, be apprehended only by hearts disciplined to love—it follows that religion can achieve its characteristic end as religion only through a society organic to the idea and power of Love—through such a society as the Christian society claims distinctively to be.

Thus far, however, we have made plain only the immediate ground of Christian belief. We hold the Christian creed because of the ministry and witness of the Christian Church. But the process whereby this ministry and witness become the philosophical ground of doctrine is a highly complex one—involving, as we have seen, an interpretation of history and experience and a valuation of the Christian life, and, therefore, of the personal ideals which that life illustrates. Ultimately, then, our acceptance of the Christian creed rests upon our faith in human nature—upon our confidence that 'our highest faculties do not lie.'

But is our confidence well placed ? At this point Christian apologetic passes into a general philosophy of faith, and here, perhaps, it will be convenient to interrupt our argument.

<sup>1</sup> In the conception of the Christian society as the ground of Christian belief, and of the life of the Christian society as a progressive life, it seems possible to discover a rational ground for the idea of 'authority.' But to essay this discovery would take us far beyond the inevitable limits of this article.

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## ART. VI.—THE SCIENCE OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

1. *Pastors and Teachers. Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology, delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, in the year 1902*, by the Right Rev. EDMUND ARBUTHNOT KNOX, D.D., Bishop of Coventry (now of Manchester). (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1902. New and cheaper edition, 1904.)
2. *The Parson's Handbook*. By the Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. New edition, re-written and with much additional matter. (London: Grant Richards, 1903.)
3. *The Study of Ecclesiastical History*. By WILLIAM EDWARD COLLINS, B.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London (now Bishop of Gibraltar). *Handbooks for the Clergy Series*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903.)
4. *Life and Labour of the People in London*. By CHARLES BOOTH, F.R.S. Third Series: Religious Influences. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)
5. *The Religious Life of London*. Edited by R. MUDIE SMITH. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.)
6. *The Reaction of Modern Scientific Thought on Theological Studies*. By the Rev. W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D. *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1904. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.)

THE characteristic feature of the second half of the last century is often declared to be the advance of science. If by this it is meant that the last fifty years have witnessed the application of scientific methods to the study of most branches of knowledge, the statement is undoubtedly true. The change has been brought about by the numerous discoveries which have been made in the domain of physical nature, for there, where laws are comparatively simple and regular in their action, a scientific method is easier to

construct and more immediately fruitful in results. When once, however, such a method had been established in the study of natural phenomena, it was soon seen that the more complex questions that deal with the characters and actions of men could only be answered by equally thorough and intelligent means.

Thus to speak of the advance in science does not merely mean that we know more about chemistry, mechanics, light, heat and electricity, or even that we have a clearer grasp of the origin of species and the descent of man. Still less is it a way of calling attention to the fact that we have applied this knowledge to increase the comfort of our homes and to extend our trade. The great revolution that has been effected by the work in which Charles Darwin is the most conspicuous figure lies in the fact that nearly every branch of knowledge is now studied scientifically. History is no longer mere narrative; it draws its authority from research in original documents. Art criticism no longer labels pictures indiscriminately with the best known names. Archæology has ceased to be mere collecting for museums of curiosities; the value of an object is little if its provenance is not registered; excavations are now carried out by rigorous plan and method. In the study of the nature of man, no less than of his acts in the past, is this change visible. Anthropology as a science has taken the place of travellers' tales; the study of economics has given England her commercial supremacy, because she has been bold enough to trust herself to the conclusions at which her master minds had arrived; it is becoming more and more recognized that all measures for the welfare of the people must be preceded by a patient study of sociological laws, that every schoolmaster must have grasped the elements of psychology as a condition of successful education. Nor has the change been less marked in the applied practical arts. The machinery for the observation of the laws of health has been elaborated, and the practice of medicine is based on tested experiment; the problems of teaching receive the scientific treatment that is only possible where organizations exist in the shape of schools in which they can be examined; charity is only effective in

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Theology has naturally not been left uninfluenced by the change. The eighteenth-century theories of the pure theism of the noble savage have disappeared before the comparative study of religions; the Bible has been given back to us by the very process of scientific criticism which men feared would destroy its authority; a revival in the study of the history of dogma has given us a clearer understanding of the course of religious thought in the past.

Nor are signs wanting that a similar change is coming over the study of Pastoral Theology, though hitherto it has been treated merely on traditional lines. From the beginning of the Church's history the want has been felt of teaching on the practical duties of the clergy, and a library has grown up of works written to meet that need. The *Didaché* (if its early date be accepted) was the pioneer of a whole series of Church Orders, many of which have been recovered in our own times. St. Augustine, living in a condition of society in many ways singularly like our own, seems to be dealing with just the same classes with which we are familiar, when in the *De Catechizandis Rudibus* he gives advice how to modify the preparation for baptism in the cases of the uneducated man, the gentleman (*eruditi*), and the intelligent but uneducated member of the middle class (*grammatici et oratores*). The increasing Church life of Milan led St. Ambrose to write his *De Officiis* as a manual for his clergy. St. Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* became the standard book on the subject, and suggested the ideal of the mediæval parish priest. The Penitentials in the Dark Ages reveal the felt need of a guide in the practical matters of morals and Church government, and from them, carrying on the tradition of the earlier Church Orders, arose the whole body of Canon Law. The foundation of seminaries for the training of the French clergy in the seventeenth century involved the institution of professorships of Pastoral Theology, and ever since there has been no lack of manuals for Roman Catholic priests to instruct them in the details of their duty.

No feature of the religious revival in England has been

more important than the desire for a better preparation for Holy Orders, and with the institution of training colleges has grown up a considerable literature in the shape of books written for the guidance of the English clergy in their calling. The increased activity of parochial work and the multiplication of services have produced a similar library of little books for the instruction of the sacristan or the district visitor. Biographies of parish priests, and histories of work in the slums, provide a popular form of publication which always has a ready sale.

But when we come to examine these books what do we find to be their nature? They are for the most part simply records of personal experiences, and as such no doubt valuable, but at best they only give one set of facts from which conclusions may be drawn; there is little sign of a critical spirit in testing these observations or in comparing them with others made by men in secular walks of life; and too often statements are made and principles enunciated which obviously only rest upon tradition. If set against the work issued week by week, for instance, on medical research, they will be seen to lay no claim to scientific treatment; even tried by the standard of other branches of divinity, the published works of Pastoral Theology will not compare with those of Church history, Biblical criticism, Dogmatics or Exegesis.

There are signs of an advance, however. The art of sermon writing has always commanded attention and received a more thorough treatment. Such a work as the Bishop of Manchester's *Pastors and Teachers*, with its insistence on the importance of serious study of the problems of religious teaching and its collection of documents in the shape of various authorized catechisms, is an example of the application of an outside standard to Church work. Mr. Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* in its later form, based as it has come to be on a thorough knowledge of liturgical principles, may fairly claim to rank as scientific. But in both these cases, as contributions to Pastoral Theology, they have gained their special character by overlapping with two other subjects which have already been re-cast—viz. education and liturgical history. The two works of independent research,

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conducted on scientific principles and dealing directly with Pastoral Theology, which stand at the head of this article, Mr. Charles Booth's analysis of the religious influences of London, and Mr. Mudie Smith's painstaking Church census, have attracted general attention by the very fact that their method appears unusual and new.

What do we mean by the scientific treatment of a subject? The brain is the strongest organ of the human frame, and to work with the head is always more effective than to labour with the body; as a consequence there is little advance in any pursuit till the burden of effort is taken by the powers of the mind. Scientific study is the application of these mental powers to any matter. It involves concentration of thought on the subject in hand to the exclusion of irrelevant considerations, sustained examination till a chain of consequences is worked out to its conclusion, and a comparison of the element so isolated with other elements to which it is related; for distinctness of conception must come before a contrast can be clearly made. Accuracy of observation is equally an element of scientific study, and must be extended over a wide area; it is of little use, however, without the power of generalizing from the many things seen, and the capacity to arrange them in their proper relation to one another. Moreover, the power of imagination is always necessary for advance to new discovery.

This application of mental powers to a subject works out in two ways. (1) In an abstract science, the subject in itself is studied, its nature considered, and its scope defined; what belongs to its domain is tabulated; what lies outside is ruled off. Then its relation to kindred subjects is ascertained, its background understood, the conditions and scene of its action allowed for. As soon as we know exactly what we are to examine we can realize its aims and principles, we can test its schemes and elaborate its methods.

Thus the scientific study of history is a different thing from the study of histories. Before any great advance could be made in historical writing it was necessary for the whole subject to be considered. First, it was necessary to examine what history itself is, wherein lies the difference of its data

from those of physical science, what are its methods of analysis in collecting material and in critical investigation of documents. Its constructive methods also needed investigation, the place of imagination and inference, the differences of political, ecclesiastical, or economic history, as well as of the history of art, civilization and philosophy. The distinction of history from historical teaching needed to be made clear, as well as its relation to literature and the work of moral edification. The consideration of the special faculties needed for historical work, and the special dangers to which it is liable, also form part of the abstract science of history. Such works as MM. Langlois' and Seignobos' *Introduction aux Études Historiques*, or Prof. E. Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, may be ranked as contributions to historical science. In a similar way Bishop Collins' *Study of Ecclesiastical History* has provided a manual of method specially intended for the clergy. We now want a corresponding treatment of the abstract science of Pastoral Theology, on the lines suggested by Dr. Cunningham's paper on 'The Reaction of Modern Scientific Thought on Theological Study.'<sup>1</sup>

(2) The scientific treatment of a subject is incomplete till it is applied and its nature established by induction. For this we need men of trained powers of observation, whose experience has been drawn from a large area and continued for a sufficient length of time. There must be systematic collection of data, and a critical examination of their genuineness and their value. From these conclusions can be deduced and generalizations made, which require, however, to be checked continually by fresh evidence. For this a band of workers must be found who have first been trained in method, and a machinery created to bring them into touch with facts.

In the applied science of education work of this kind is being done. By the constant process of examination, inspection and discussion, in connexion with a vast number of schools, certain definite results are being established. As a typical book embodying such conclusions, Sir Joshua Fitch's *Lectures on Teaching* may be cited. What is now

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1904.

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required is for some one to write a similar manual on Pastoral Theology, to be for clergymen what his lectures are for teachers.

The first step, therefore, in creating a scientific treatment of Pastoral Theology is to consider its scope. There are a number of men in Holy Orders who have never thought out what a clergyman's work is, and, as a consequence, a large portion of their time is taken up with occupations which, however useful and necessary, are no part of their professional duties. The danger is that these pursuits, being more clearly defined, may easily fill the whole of their mental horizon, to the exclusion of the tasks which they are specially ordained to perform.

A clergyman's work may be said to consist in the administration of the Sacraments and the preaching of the Word. In the first is included the whole duty of serving an already Christian people; in the second, that of extending the Church's borders by mission work. As administering the Sacrament of Baptism he is concerned with the whole external discipline and administration of the government of the Church as an organized body; as administering the Sacrament of the Eucharist he is responsible for the work of serving the inner spiritual life of men and giving it its corporate expression in public worship. By reason of the former, Pastoral Theology deals with all questions of parish and diocesan management, all questions of admission to the rites of the Church and of the necessary preliminaries for Baptism, sponsorship, confirmation, Christian marriage, reconciliation of penitents, or reception of baptized members of other communions; by reason of the latter, it is not only concerned with the actual celebration of the Sacrament, but deals with the growth of the spiritual life within the Church, the creation of the conditions under which it can flourish, the direction of individuals, the conduct of services, and the arrangement of churches.

The second part of a clergyman's work is the extension of the Church's borders and of her influence. As a minister of the Word, he is to study in order that he may be able to preach, and to use every opportunity of furthering the cause

of Christ's kingdom, both by private conversation and by example. Pastoral Theology, therefore, deals not only with the art of preaching, but also with every form of home mission work, with religious education, with teaching by classes or by literature, with the extension work that depends on personal influence, and with the work of societies which have for their aim the upholding of the Christian standard of life and morals.

For a scientific study of Pastoral Theology, its relation to other kindred sciences must be established. In considering the question of the Church's administration, the laws of sociology must be borne in mind, and the experience which has been gained by the scientific study of human society utilized in organizing the divine. The whole question of the growth of the spiritual life must be based upon a knowledge of psychology, just as a schoolmaster is bound to understand the foundation on which his work rests. In the work of extension the art of preaching overlaps a large area of the domain of rhetoric; the relation of doctrine to the philosophy on which it is grounded needs to be clearly understood. The historical antecedents and the economic conditions of the society which the Church seeks to Christianize cannot be ignored, and the subsidiary sciences of education and politics need to be examined as playing an important part in a scientific treatment of the second part of a clergyman's work. Sociology, psychology, rhetoric, philosophy, history, economics, education and politics, are distinct sciences from that of Pastoral Theology, but with it they are intimately connected, and to it they have definite relations.

Moreover, Pastoral Theology needs to be unified in itself; the mutual relations of one part to another need to be established and their interaction examined. The laws of spiritual life in the individual are different from those of a corporate body, yet those of liturgical expression must be ultimately related to, and spring out of, the religious consciousness of single men. The balance and proportion of common to private prayer must be capable of a scientific examination which would establish a law of the soul. The relation of doctrine to preaching needs to be worked out; the question of

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the nature of the Christian interpretation of life is a different thing from its presentation to the consciences of men, yet, unless the two are harmonized, creed and sermon both remain barren.

As an illustration of what needs to be done over the whole ground, let us take the special department of Moral Theology. The subject must first be examined in itself. Moral Theology is the application of the laws of right and wrong to the practical affairs of daily life, and as such is generally known as Casuistry, the science of dealing with cases of conscience. This must be distinguished from other sciences with which it overlaps, such as psychology or ethics, though the nature of the human will and the reasons of moral judgments are matters from which it cannot be separated. As concerning Pastoral Theology, moreover, it must be studied historically, in order that the evolution of the Christian conception of duty from the teaching of the Old Testament may be understood, and the gradual expression of the Christian conscience traced in its creation of the moral atmosphere in which we live. Its character and aims must next be studied, and in so doing the student finds that in the Roman Church it has assumed a special form in connexion with the discipline of the confessional, and as a science has hitherto been singularly barren of value. This discipline in its Roman form has, however, been repudiated by our Church, and consequently Moral Theology needs also to be recast for us. The whole question of how far direct guidance tends to weaken the will, the best method of strengthening self-reliance in moral judgment without leaving it to stray into error, of educating the conscience, of creating the atmosphere in which it can grow healthily, of reaching the springs of conduct and raising the general standard of public opinion, and of giving it the true religious sanction by the practical work of the Church, are all matters of scientific Pastoral Theology.

As an applied science, Pastoral Theology needs to adopt the same methods as have conduced to the advance of other branches of knowledge. The first essential is the collection of accurately observed data. These must be continuous and drawn from over a large area. The great value

of Mr. Booth's work lies in the fact that he has included the whole of London in his survey. His information, no doubt, is largely second-hand; he has been obliged to quote reports, to rely on the statements of interested persons, to give impressions where facts were not attainable, to be at times hasty and superficial in his examination, but his standard is the same for all; for the purposes of comparison of work in one part with that in another, for information as to the extent of a custom, the relative importance of a party, the general success of a method, he is entirely to be relied on, and the length of time his inquiry necessitated must have educated a special power of observation in himself and his fellow-workers. In the same way, the value of the Church census taken by Mr. Mudie Smith lies not only in the comparison it enables us to make in the habits of church-going in different religious bodies and in various places, but in the fact also that it follows one made by the *British Weekly* seventeen years ago, and so enables us to notice any change in the way of advance or decline during that time.

Having our data, we can proceed to criticize them. The mere collection of facts is useless, as can be seen by the perusal of any of the ordinary religious biographies or records and reports of Church work. Unless verified and tested by some outside standard, such as would be required in a law court, by a writer of history, or by an editor of a newspaper, they are of little value. Nothing is easier than to be misled by what people say, to see only what one wants to see, to jump to conclusions from a single instance, or to let personal interests direct one's attention to one set of facts alone. Evidence must be tested, not merely by persons of a critical spirit, but by such persons in conjunction, so that one may check the bias of the other.

Then, and not till then, can generalizations be made and valid conclusions be drawn. Many customs in Church work, based on mere tradition, would find their popular justification at variance with the evidence. If once the ground were cleared of these, the clergy would have time for building up principles upon the sure ground of tested facts, and would be in a position to apply the scientific methods of Pastoral

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Theology to their work and to frame an effective policy for the extension of the borders of the Church.

To take a single example of such a process of abstract and applied scientific method. It is universally repeated, almost without contradiction, that 'house-to-house' visitation is the secret of success in parish work, and that, at any rate, 'the poor like it.' On what does this statement rest? As against mere reliance on tradition, there are three available methods by which we may arrive at a judgment on such a matter: by examining the inherent probability of the statement, by arguing from the analogy of personal experience, and by weighing the evidence of facts. On the first ground, the weakest of the three, it is improbable that people should like the visit of a person entirely unconnected with them, who interrupts them at their work, who comes with the object of making personal inquiries about their affairs, and who goes from door to door like a paid official. Arguing from personal experience, we cannot imagine such a proceeding helping us in any way; we remember how we always saw through the designs of anyone 'trying to get hold of us' when we were young, and how intensely we resented it, and we realize that, as a matter of fact, we learned what we value most in spiritual matters in an entirely different manner. From the evidence of facts we did not need the Church census to show us that the people who are visited are just those who are most out of touch with the Church, while church-going begins just where visiting leaves off, and Mr. Booth's report only shows that the absolute failure of 'house-to-house' visiting is not a peculiar feature of the corner of London which we know, but extends over the whole area, and is equally resented in all parts.<sup>1</sup> No doubt a similar investigation of many other branches of Church work would lead us to reconsider our traditional methods. The real fact is, not that district visiting is mistaken, not that 'house-to-house' visiting is a mistake, but that a very large amount of that which is undertaken is not done in the right spirit or the right way. Every man has a right to the privacy of his house,

<sup>1</sup> *Religious Influences*, i. 81, ii. 175, 182, 212, 214, iii. 80, 98, 146, 164, iv. 47, 200, v. 13, 180, 190, 201, vi. 9, 53, &c.

and any visiting must be undertaken with just the same courtesy and consideration as we should show in the richest house in the parish. Probably the parish in London which shows by far the largest congregations of all classes is St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, and here every house is visited—rich and poor alike.

How is this scientific treatment of Pastoral Theology to be secured? The first thing needed is a more general belief in the value of scientific work. We want our clergy to adopt as high a standard for all they undertake as is demanded in other professions. The present isolation of the clergy from secular life, and their absorption in a world of their own creating, are perfectly fatal to efficiency. We do not mean that the clergy should be secularized, as many who have a horror of their forming a caste seem to desire. On the contrary, the more conscious a man is that he is a priest, the more easily will he mix with laymen, and the more steadily will he set himself to do his work as well as they do theirs.

We want the clergy, as a class, to realize that their work is high-class work, and, as such, is done more by the head than by bodily activity. To secure this, a change in attitude must be made from the beginning, in the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders. They should be trained from the outset to recognize that the problems of their work are more difficult than those which merely deal with men's bodies. It ought to be impossible for a man to go straight from the University to his work, without first spending some time in considering the aims and ideals of his calling, with all the force of his faculties fresh from their recent education. We want to get rid of the fallacy that 'experience,' as it is called, is useful; it serves no good purpose for a student to take part in practical work except under direction; he will only confirm himself in bad habits unless he has someone to guide him to act upon principles. We want to get our younger clergy to believe that head-work counts. No one proposes to lower the standard of medical knowledge required before a physician is allowed to practise, and the difficulty of obtaining doctors is never urged as a reason for shortening the period of study at the hospitals; yet, surely, men's bodies are not of more account than their souls.

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Then we need to work at the subject itself. The Professor of Pastoral Theology, or head of the Theological College, should be in the position of a tutor to direct the students to work to this end. In the first place, they should be trained in method. A great deal of their time, both in the colleges and in after-life, is wasted, because they have never learned how to take notes. It is, as a rule, several years before a man has formed his own system of commonplace books, references, classification and records, even if he makes it at all, while much of his trouble could have been saved, opportunities of gaining experience utilized, and valuable knowledge not missed, by having been taught some method. Even in the case of the man who has the power of creating his own system, the final result would have been better if he had started with a good plan to modify and improve. The whole mechanical business of study should be begun at once, the first term's notes looked over and essays written, to teach students how to observe, to record, to criticize, to make deductions and to express their conclusions.

There would be no time, even if the course of training were universally extended to two years in the case of graduates and three in the case of others, to teach more than the bare elements of psychology, sociology, and economics. Those who had taken honours at the University would be already familiar with their principles, but passmen and non-graduates ought early in their training to be made conscious of the existence of these subjects as having been studied scientifically, and should be given the direction in which they can follow up, by their own study after ordination, the few elementary ideas that could be put before them while at the college. Simple preliminary lectures should be given in these subjects, in order that, as students of Pastoral Theology, they may get the background of their work, and know where it touches other parts of life.

The whole course of a Theological College is, properly speaking, one of Pastoral Theology. As distinct from a school at the University, it studies theology from a definite point of view. Church history is read for its lessons as to the principles of Church government, and liturgical works for

the direct practical purpose of guiding the conduct of Church services. The Bible and Creeds are re-studied for the purposes of teaching, and Moral Theology for the principles that are to direct Church work.

The preparation of a candidate for Orders is intended to fit him for his work as a clergyman, which, as we saw, is to administer the Sacraments and to preach, with all that is included in these two duties. The life of the Church, as that of the individual, expresses itself in worship, in the Christian interpretation of life, and in moral activity. These three departments of religion need to be studied by the future clergyman in history, in theory, and in practice.

The historical study of worship is for us in the English Church the history of the Prayer Book. By tracing it to its origin, the meaning of its structure is understood. By the theoretical study of Liturgica the spirit of public worship is realized. This includes the principles of church arrangements, the education of the sense of ritual as opposed to the getting up of details, and the elements of church music. On the practical side the student should consider how the religious sense is fostered, how it is hindered, and how it is ministered to, while, most important of all, he must learn, by his chapel and by the personal life of the college, the habits which make him a fit leader for the devotions of the people.

For the expounding of the Christian interpretation of life, or homiletics, the historical side of preparation consists primarily of the study of the Old and New Testaments, on which the main body of Church teaching is based. The history of its interpretation by the Church in forming the canon, and in expressing its doctrine in her Creeds, is a necessary part of the course also. Theoretically, the meaning of the Christian symbols and dogmas must be taught as distinct from their history, while the principles of rhetoric, style, and teaching must be thought of by those who are to set them before others. The practical work in this direction would consist of sermon writing and delivery, and of teaching in a school under supervision and guidance.

The guiding and voicing of moral ideas, the third element of the clergyman's work, necessitates a study of their

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historical evolution, especially in the direct descent of Christian ethics from the conceptions of the Old Testament. The theoretical principles of casuistry should be studied, as suggested above, while the practical preparation for teaching would centre round the Ten Commandments as interpreted by the Sermon on the Mount, and the various forms of 'Church work,' which at present occupy almost the whole attention of the clergy and form almost our entire conception of Pastoral Theology, would, as intended to uphold the standard of Christian life, be studied to see how far they are doing so, and in what direction they might be made more effectual.

It is in this latter part that there is most work still to do ; but when once the elements of scientific method have been instilled the work would go on. Men, after they were ordained, would no longer be content with mere tradition ; the critical spirit would prevent them from just swimming with the stream. Adopting the attitude of learners, they would continually advance in knowledge ; they would prefer to see facts as they really are, even if the sight were discouraging and painful ; they would allow no statement to pass untested, and would be content to do a little thoroughly and forego the popular canonization of overwork.

The abstract science having been studied in this way as an applied science, Pastoral Theology would at once be in a position to take its proper place in the world. Men trained in method would see the necessity of parish records. Without some such system parochial work must remain merely personal and weak. Co-operation with others is necessary if anything is to be done on more than the smallest scale, and this is impossible unless things are put into writing. Moreover, directly some system of minutes or diaries is in use, all work ceases to be done merely for the moment, continuity of action is made possible, experience is accumulated without fear of past lessons being forgotten, and a policy can be sustained week by week and year by year. With a system of records the data of the science accumulate, and evidence becomes available from several sources and from over a definite period of time.

The next step would be the use of this evidence. The experience so gained in various parishes would need to be focussed by conferences and committees, where conclusions could be compared and checked. By this means observation could be extended over a far wider area, local and personal peculiarities discounted, and fundamental principles brought to the fore. Specialists would be able to study different branches of the subject thoroughly, writing monographs on different departments of Church work, where at present their isolation renders their task difficult and its fulfilment imperfect. Then these accumulations of tested knowledge might be diffused by diocesan organization. The function of archdeacons might be extended by the institution of visitors working on the lines suggested by the duties of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Spending their time in reporting on the work of various parishes, they would learn where various methods would have the greatest effect, and would be invaluable in giving advice, or making suggestions, to those whom they visit.

In short, what is necessary is that the same method should be applied to the work of a clergyman that has been applied to almost every other pursuit. Were this done, we should no doubt see a great improvement in type among men in Holy Orders. In spite of the fact that their calling is the noblest that there is, and that there is no department of human activity in which they have no interest, it can hardly be said that the ordinary clergyman can take his place by the side of the doctor, the artist, the author, the lawyer, or the man of business. He is, as a rule, harried and worn, and has degraded mentally and socially from the continual wearing burden of disorganized unscientific work.

Among the many reasons which have been put forward to account for the decline in the number of candidates for Holy Orders, the present unsettlement of religious opinion, the development of more attractive professions, and the poor financial prospect of the clergyman no doubt play their part. But we doubt if these weigh so much, at any rate with the best men, as is generally supposed. Surely a part at least of the reason is to be found in the fact that work badly done is

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bound to be unattractive. The reaction on the person and character of the man who is sacrificed to aimless and confused methods is sure to produce a type the sight of which must deter all but those most convinced of their call from entering a profession which, they fear, may drag them down to the level of those whom they feel that they cannot admire. And yet, were they as carefully trained in their science as is the doctor, the lawyer, or the artist, who can doubt that the calling of a clergyman would have just as superior an attraction as his work is fuller, richer, and profounder than theirs?

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## ART. VII.—MR. STANLEY WEYMAN'S NOVELS.

1. *The House of the Wolf: a Romance*. New Edition. (London: Longmans and Co., 1895.)
2. *The New Rector*. New Edition. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1902.)
3. *A Gentleman of France*. New Impression. (London: Longmans, 1903.)
4. *The Red Cockade*. New Impression. (London: Longmans, 1900.)
5. *The Story of Francis Cludde*. Popular Edition. (London: Cassell and Co., n.d.)
6. *Shrewsbury: a Romance*. With 24 Illustrations by CLAUDE A. SHEPPERSON. New Edition. (London: Longmans, 1898.)
7. *The Castle Inn*. Fifth Edition. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1899.)
8. *Sophia*. New Edition. (London: Longmans, 1900.)
9. *The Man in Black*. (London: Cassell and Co., n.d.)
10. *From the Memoirs of a Minister of France*. Popular Edition. (London: Cassell and Co., n.d.)
11. *Count Hannibal*. Fifth Impression. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1903.)
12. *My Lady Rotha*. New Impression. (London: Innes, 1899.)
13. *Under the Red Robe*. Sixth Edition. (London: Methuen, 1896.)
14. *The Long Night*. (London: Longmans, 1903.)
15. *The Abbess of Vlaye*. (London: Longmans, 1904.)

IT would be an interesting question to appreciate the educational value of historical romance. Its determination will naturally depend on a variety of preliminary conditions—on the ability of the writer in selecting suitable subjects for artistic treatment, upon the insight that can discern fitting material for striking situations in unsuspected quarters, upon the intelligence in grasping and the fidelity in presenting the spirit of the age in which the story is cast. But assuming, for the moment, that these desiderata are fulfilled, can any educational value, beyond the legitimate interest it engenders,

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be justly assigned to the well-cultivated field of historical fiction? The question is one of much practical importance at the present day when, as we urged in a former article, the influence of fiction is extended in a degree which even well-informed people fail adequately to realize. It is easy to parry the inquiry with a smile of half-amused contempt. It is easy to treat it with good-natured banter as the groundless assumption of writers too prone to magnify their office. But we have the high authority of Bishop Creighton for asserting that a significant change is passing over the masses of English people which we think bears directly upon the influence of historical romance.

'There can be no doubt [he says] that in late years there has been a very decided increase of general interest in history amongst us. The nature of political questions and the tendency of thought about social questions have given a decided impulse in this direction. In small towns and villages, historical subjects are amongst the most popular for lectures; and historical allusions are acceptable to all audiences. Fifteen years ago it was not so.'

While we accept the assurance that general interest in history has decidedly increased, we may be allowed to question whether this result is mainly due to the discussion or the tendency of political and social problems. We should be disposed to assign at least a very influential share in it to that almost universal dissemination of historical novels which has resulted from the multiplication of free libraries, from the augmented opportunities for reading afforded by shortened hours of labour and early closing, from the immensely extended circle of readers of the modern novel, on which we enlarged in a former article, and from the remarkable ability with which contemporary novelists have treated this fascinating branch of fiction. Among this distinguished band Mr. Stanley Weyman deservedly holds high rank. His works have enjoyed extraordinary popularity, and although not puffed in the loud advertising fashion of Miss Marie Corelli's or Mr. Hall Caine's productions, a Bibliographical Note inserted in some of them shows how widely they are distributed. Thus the collection of short stories, *From the Memoirs of a Minister of France*, passed through four editions

in the year of its publication, and has also twice been reissued in popular form. *The Story of Francis Cludde* was exhausted nine times over before the Popular Edition of 1899, which has since been renewed. *The House of the Wolf* came out in March 1890 and the impression before us is the thirteenth since that date. *The Man in Black* has appeared in sixpenny form as well as in more costly guise, while others of the romances have reached their fifth and sixth impressions; these issues being in many cases preceded by publication in some widely circulated periodical. The influence of a writer so prolific and so much in vogue in feeding the imagination and forming the taste of a countless host must be enormous, and not the less because it is brought to bear very largely on readers who are unconscious of its effect upon them. How Mr. Stanley Weyman discharges the heavy burden of responsibility which his popularity involves will become sufficiently apparent, we trust, as we proceed with our appreciation of his work.

The wide diffusion of historical romance becomes highly important when we realize that, if the great majority of English readers are to learn any of the lessons which it is the special function of history to teach, under existing conditions and methods of intellectual culture they will only learn them from historical novels; nor (paradoxical as the assertion may appear) do we believe that any other form of instruction would be more desirable. Upon Lord Macaulay's theory that exaggeration is necessary if an historian would produce an adequate impression, the selection of individual characters to represent a period, and the consequent exaggeration of differing tendencies which ordinarily work harmoniously, will only result in conveying a correct conception to the average reader. If the use of history turns far more on certainty than on abundance of acquired information, if the minds that are greatest and best alone furnish really instructive examples, if the important thing to be mastered in each epoch is rather the tendency which it manifests than the facts with which it is filled, and if, finally, as Ruskin asserts, all the greatest men live in their purpose and effort more than it is possible for them to live in reality;

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it is quite practicable for a skilful and well-read novelist to fulfil the conditions these postulates demand, and at once so to concentrate attention upon the greatest characters in history, and to bring into high relief the meaning of their lives as to seize upon the imagination and inform the minds of readers who would never open a volume of undisguised history. The unremitting conflict between good and evil, which it is of the essence of history to illustrate and rehearse, can be enforced, and is constantly enforced, by high-minded novelists, in a guise which comes home to the great mass of novel-readers; and in the form of story and romance history appeals to the young at a period in their lives when they are most susceptible of permanent impressions. With what beneficial effect this may be done is seen in the fact that Ranke, the great historian, had been attracted in early life to the study of history by reading *Quentin Durward*, and the discrepancy he discovered between Scott's portraiture of Lewis XI. and that of the original in Commynes determined him to follow with unswerving fidelity the lead of his authorities. Our contention, of course, is only on behalf of such writers as do give a truthful presentation of the persons and events they introduce in their romances: but, even through the interest awakened by less painstaking and conscientious authors, how many have been led on to a fuller and deeper study of history on which they would not otherwise have entered. Given writers of the stamp of Sir Conan Doyle and Mr. Seton Merriman and Mr. Stanley Weyman, and we regard the historical novel as an almost unqualified boon, filling no mean educational place and affording an immense amount of the purest gratification to many thousands of readers.

It is not easy in the absence of any authoritative standard of criticism to determine which qualities deserve to stand highest in the works of imagination. According to Dr. Johnson, the great source of pleasure is variety. We love to expect, and when expectation is disappointed or gratified, we want to be again expecting. In works set in an historical framework there must further be accurate knowledge; unless study and observation, says the same arbiter, supply materials to be combined, nature gives in vain the

powers of combination. But above all the great dictator of Pump Court placed the faculty of devising adventure.

'It is much more easy [he wrote] to form dialogues than to contrive adventures. Every position makes way for an argument and every objection dictates an answer. When two disputants are engaged upon a complicated and extensive question, the difficulty is not to continue, but to end, the controversy. But whether it be that we comprehend but a few of the possibilities of life, or that life itself affords little variety, every man who has tried will know how much labour it will cost to form such a combination of circumstances as shall have at once the grace of novelty and credibility and delight fancy without violence to reason.'

We are not sure that modern opinion would accept this verdict without qualification. One of the most popular and prolific of novelists told the present writer that she found inventing situations and conceiving and drawing plots far easier than writing sparkling conversation. With the change of modern life the point of view and of consequent criticism has shifted. We have passed from ponderous dialogue to bright and rapid interchanges of phrase, and should be sadly impatient of controversy conducted in Johnsonian periods. But Mr. Stanley Weyman need not fear the application of modern tests to his romances, which are instinct with movement and seldom include a dull page. Variety, scholarship, inventive power he displays in abundance. He is before all else an admirable *raconteur*. His capacity for creating adventures seems absolutely inexhaustible; but his romances are instinct with other qualities which raise them above the level of mere adventure. The strenuous life is there and the breezy atmosphere that invigorates and charms, and both are adorned with the grace of finished scholarship and with a certain reserve which is singularly captivating. His heroes amid the clash of swords are no mere swashbucklers, but men with hearts deep within them and swayed by motives of love and duty.

On the other hand, it must be confessed that Mr. Stanley Weyman has the defects of his qualities and that they detract somewhat seriously from the excellence of his romances. It is essential to a really great novel that the

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characters and events portrayed should bear the stamp of inherent probability, that the reader's interest should not be weakened by recurrent doubts as to whether the persons or things described could have existed in reality, that the story should be designed and gradually developed as one harmonious whole, the details introduced in its course being subordinate and suitably leading up to its crowning conclusion. Just so far as the adventures violate our sense of probability or become a string of independent episodes rather than fitting elements in the *dénouement* they mar the effect as a whole. Mr. Stanley Weyman is a little apt to disregard these fundamental rules. He piles adventure on adventure until the reader feels some of that impatience which besets the hearer of a sermon with half a dozen lastlies. The rich feast of expectancy at Mr. Stanley Weyman's board becomes a little cloying and the crises are multiplied until they strain the reader's credulity. When General Tzerclas is bound hand and foot in Lady Rotha's lodgings in his own camp, while his victim escapes, his own mounted aide-de-camp waiting all the while at the door, or when Julia Masterson flying by night from Bully Pomeroy rushes into the carriage which happens at the moment to be passing and to be bearing Mr. Fishwick from Bristol to Chippenham, or when the Captain of Vlaze is murdered, the convenience of the coincidence is staggering. These are examples which might be greatly extended. Priceless jewels are scattered about, lost and found again with too ingenious opportunities. Indispensable tokens mysteriously disappear to be recovered at the moment of despair. Plague, small pox, witchcraft, all flit across the stage. The machine which lets down the avenging Nemesis is always at work. Mr. Stanley Weyman sows by the sack, not by the handful. And the breathless, but unconvinced, reader pants for an interval of unexciting repose.

The works before us may be roughly divided into two classes, the historical and the purely romantic. To the former belong *The House of the Wolf* and *Count Hannibal*, both of which have to do with the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the *Abbess of Vlaze* and *A Gentleman of France*, each cast in the early days of Henry of Navarre, the later years of whose

reign are illustrated by the short stories *From the Memoirs of a Minister of France*. The struggles of Geneva for freedom supply the *mise-en-scène* for *The Long Night*, the Thirty Years' War for *My Lady Rotha*; only in *The Story of Francis Cludde* and *Shrewsbury* is English history the background of the narrative. In *The Man in Black*, *Under the Red Robe*, and *The Red Cockade* Mr. Stanley Weyman again turns for inspiration to the annals of France, the most fertile source of the picturesque in modern history. *Sophia* and *The Castle Inn* we should classify as pure romance of other days, despite the slight historic setting of the latter. *The New Rector* is a pleasant character study and presents a well-drawn and diversified group of actors, but it is entirely modern, and hardly enters within the scope of the present article.

As the other fourteen volumes lie before us, what a goodly outcome they present of careful study, chastened imagination and inventive power! What a gallery of varied portraits drawn with a skilful hand which gains in firmness of outline and subtlety of suggestion as the writer advances in experience and technical facility! There is little of the mental analysis which forms so large an element in the modern novel; none of the hateful dalliance with the abnormal that so frequently disfigures it. The scenes are for the most part laid in days when men's habits (and those of women too) were frightfully coarse and the characters portrayed illustrate some of the worst and darkest features of their time; but the purest minded can read without danger of defilement Mr. Stanley Weyman's fictions. Beyond the historical details, which are sometimes little more than the framework in which a picture of bygone times is set, there are two features specially noticeable in them. The first is that every one of Mr. Stanley Weyman's romances has a satisfactory ending. Not always one of facile and unqualified joy; but one which gratifies our sense of fitness, brings its just nemesis to violence and wrong and plenteously rewards what is upright and true. Then, again, in almost every story there is introduced one thoroughly good woman whose presence sweetens an atmosphere that would otherwise be overcharged with craft and crime. Sometimes this beneficent creature is only a secondary character,

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traced with a light pencil, suggesting rather than displaying her powers. Sometimes she is the heroine round whom the action of the drama centres, and whose courage and resource in perilous crises put the sterner sex to the blush. Sometimes her sterling worth is lighted up by sparks of a pretty malice and the fascinating charms of caprice and harmless mischief with which women can fight life's battle so admirably. But in whatever guise, grave or gay, there she is, pure, high-souled, really admirable; and her presence elevates, and is designed by the author to elevate and illumine the story.

No wonder that in his search for the picturesque Mr. Stanley Weyman turns so frequently to the chronicles of France, for nowhere else can be found so boundless a store of genuine romance. The literature of no other country possesses such lavish wealth of memoirs, the veritable mine for the historical novelist. And how strangely entrancing withal are the successive epochs which such past-masters in their art as De Retz and Saint-Simon and Madame de Sévigné present to us. Where else shall we find annals so crowded with successive periods of thrilling interest—the wars of religion, the rule of Richelieu, the Fronde, the splendour and decay of the Grand Monarque, the thrilling and inexhaustible interest of the Revolution and of the First Napoleon? Mr. Stanley Weyman knows how to take full advantage of the treasures placed at his disposal, and employs them with admirable effect. Take, for example, that crowning tragedy of the Valois dynasty, the massacre of St. Bartholomew; does any historian whose work would be likely to fall into the hands of the average English reader describe it so vividly as the author of *Count Hannibal*? The scene at the Louvre on the eve of the massacre, with the half-distraught, half-fanatic Charles IX., now goaded to a frenzy of murderous recklessness, now penitent and reluctant, vainly striving to save his personal friend Rochefoucauld, yet without the courage to carry out his wishes; maddened with drink and fear and superstition, blaspheming God, and cowering before a priest—how vivid and lifelike! And the episodes introduced into the fatal day—the street scenes in Paris, the audacious defence by Count Hannibal of his lady love in

the house with open doors and windows, the rallying cry of the Tavannes, the concealment of the Huguenot pastor, with his childlike confidence, tinged with no less childish superstition, in his preservation through a special interposition of Providence, the confinement of Count Hannibal and his wonderful escape from the arsenal—all these details, whether they actually occurred, or were only conceived by the imagination of the writer, combine to form a picture that is true in its essence, and to impress it most strongly upon the mind of the reader. We, at least, are not ashamed to confess that, familiar as we have been from childhood with the tragic story, we have never realised it so clearly as we have through the help of Mr. Stanley Weyman's presentation.

The same holds good, *mutatis mutandis*, of the rest of these historical romances. How powerfully are portrayed in the *Abbess of Vlaye* and *My Lady Rotha* the misery and abject desolation of the peasantry in the Thirty Years' War, and the struggle between the League and the Huguenots. Where will you turn for a more accurate picture of rural France, with its refined and reckless nobles and its down-trodden serfs, at the outbreak of the Revolution, than in *The Red Cockade*; or of the conspiracies with which England was permeated in its own Revolution than in *Shrewsbury*? And the reason why fiction is so much more vivid than history is not far to seek. The reading of both requires the constant exercise of the imagination, which is more easily quickened by individual particulars than it is by the presentation of them in the mass, and fiction deals with the former, history far more largely with the latter. Of course it is true of novels, as of all other books, that those will learn most from them who bring most knowledge to them. 'To him that hath shall be given.' A reader versed in the *Chronicles of the Bastille* or in Davila will appreciate most fully the accuracy of scenes depicted in *The Man in Black* and *Under the Red Robe*; while for the less instructed what an aid to the understanding of these periods of French history Mr. Stanley Weyman supplies!

A few more characteristics may be glanced at before we proceed to speak of these romances individually. They

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remind us of R. L. Stevenson's craving in his long illness for some books of adventure, and the clash of swords; and we think the gifted author of *Treasure Island* would have felt his longing more than satisfied in Mr. Stanley Weyman's pages. He seems, indeed, to be ever 'spoiling for a fight,' and is never more at home than when depicting some battle royal from the crash and conflict of which his hero emerges victorious. It requires no mean skill to set the tangles and turmoil of war so vividly before the reader. Needless to say that our author obeys the old advice to the historical novelist, 'Soak yourself in the period,' and, with the dexterity of a practised artist, he employs allusions to well-known events like the famed Days of Dupes and the Martinbault trial during Richelieu's supremacy, the assassination of Henry III. and the poverty and powerlessness of the first years of the reign of Henry of Navarre. A like use is made of the prevalent belief in witchcraft and necromancy in *The Man in Black* and *The Long Night*. Nor should we omit to mention the scholarly element which leavens Mr. Stanley Weyman's writings. He knows his classics as a gentleman should, and introduces them on fitting occasion with telling effect. It is possibly because of the almost superabundance of incidents that most of the romances are strikingly dramatic. We do not know whether any of them have been presented on the stage, but they abound in situations, and *The Red Cockade*, *The Man in Black* and others might seem, at any rate to the non-professional mind, to be suited to the modern theatre.

It is with some perplexity that we turn from these general remarks to the consideration of the several works before us. We are conscious of a serious *embarras de richesses* if we should attempt to include them all in our review. The short stories *From the Memoirs of a Minister of France* hardly call for notice, but only exigencies of space compel us to pass by *The Man in Black*, a brief but brilliant *tour de force* and highly characteristic of its author—and with it *Sophia*, *A Gentleman of France* and *The Red Cockade*. All four are well-known favourites and hold their places firmly with lovers of romance; yet perhaps they do

not illustrate any of Mr. Stanley Weyman's higher qualities which are not equally conspicuous in his other romances.

In *The Castle Inn* Mr. Stanley Weyman introduces the Earl of Chatham, whose stay at the famous hostel during one of his fits of retreat from the outside world is historic. The interview with Mr. Fishwick and the Earl's quotation from Horace, 'Virtute me involvo,' is sufficiently probable in itself, but it recalls an anecdote which, as an illustration of the grander side of Chatham's character, is worth repeating. In his place in Parliament the great statesman was defending his policy at a critical moment, and he glanced at the possibility of an adverse decision. If Fortune should prove fickle, he said—quoting the well-known stanza

'Si celeres quatit  
Pennas resigno quae dedit—'

at this point he paused, and was silent while the audience (for every member of the House knew his Horace in those days) could themselves supply the words

'et mea  
Virtute me involvo,'

after which he added, amid a storm of applause,

'probamque  
Pauperiem sine dote quaero.'

Although we think Mr. Stanley Weyman is at his best in historical romance, *The Castle Inn* is a stirring tale, too much interlarded with oaths and villains to our taste, yet probably only too faithful a picture of the time. The one actor most open to criticism, in our judgment, is Julia Masterson, the heroine, a really charming and high-mirded girl; endowed not merely with the innate modesty and dignity which are the monopoly of no class in social life, but with the power of refined repartee, and a finish of expression hardly consistent with her training as daughter of a college servant. Her introduction at the opening of the tale, when she entreats Sir George Soane to avenge her father—a purpose which she incontinently abandons—is forced and sensational, and is in marked contrast with the orderly development of his stories to which the author has accustomed us.

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A certain sense of incongruity pursues us, and gives an air of unreality to the narrative.

It is a favourite artifice of Mr. Stanley Weyman to introduce his heroes in such guise that at first they repel rather than attract. Then gradually, as the story proceeds, their higher and better qualities, not without many a severe inward struggle, develop until, when the whole man stands revealed, our admiration is completely won. This gradual evolution of character, half concealed, half manifested, greatly strengthens the interest of the story, and maintains the reader's unflagging attention to the last. It is on this method of treatment that the success of *Under the Red Robe* and *Count Hannibal* is founded. In the opening chapters, we regard de Bérault and Count Hannibal with positive aversion, which occasional glimpses of chivalry from time to time only partially remove. Nor is it easy to exaggerate the value of the lesson which Mr. Stanley Weyman implicitly enforces in his romances, not only in the two just referred to, but in *Sophia* and *The Long Night* and *The Abbess of Vlaye* and others—a lesson the more impressive because he is generally content to suggest, without expressly naming it, the lesson of the supreme blessedness of self-sacrifice. This, as the ideal and reward of heroism, forms the crowning triumph of his men and women, diverse as Count Hannibal and Sir Harvey Coke, as de Bérault and des Ageaux, as Clotilde de Vrillac and Anne Royaume, as Sophia and My Lady Rotha.

Conflict between conscience and interest is admirably worked out in *Under the Red Robe*, where that soldier of fortune de Bérault sets out, at the bidding of Richelieu, to arrest the Seigneur de Cocheforet, this unwelcome task being the price of his escape from capital punishment for killing an Englishman in a duel. The perilous mission involves the necessity of worming himself into the confidence of the man he designs to betray, but de Bérault pursues his errand unmoved until he has become the trusted friend of the household, and the purity and devotion of Mademoiselle de Cocheforet, the sister of his victim, touch him. A score of perils has been successfully overcome, the safety and protection of the de-

Cocheforets has been assured at imminent risk of his own life, the bitterest reproaches of Mademoiselle have cut him to the quick, and the last stage of the return journey with his captive has been reached, when de Bérault determines to release him and to give himself up to death rather than consummate his crime. Needless to say that love inspires his self-immolation, and that all ends well eventually. We give briefly de Bérault's avowal of his determination to release the brother. He puts the problem in a story :

"Mademoiselle, it seems easy now to say what course he should have chosen. It seems hard now to find excuses for him. But there is one thing which I plead for him. The task he was asked to undertake was a dangerous one. He risked, he knew that he must risk, and the event proved him to be right, his life against the life of this unknown man. And, one thing more, time was before him. The outlaw might be taken by another, might be killed, might die, might—But there, Mademoiselle, we know what answer this person made. He took the baser course, and on his honour, on his parole, with money supplied to him, he went free; free on the condition that he delivered up this other man."

"I paused again, but I did not dare to look at her; and after a moment of silence I resumed.

"Some portion of the second half of the story you know, Mademoiselle; but not all. Suffice it to say that this man came down to a remote village and then at risk, but, Heaven knows, basely enough, found his way into his victim's house. Once there, however, his heart began to fail him. Had he found the house garrisoned by men he might have pressed to his end with little remorse. But he found there only two helpless, loyal women; and I say again, from the first hour of his entrance he sickened at the work which he had in hand, the work which ill-fortune had laid upon him. Still he pursued it. He had given his word; and if there was one tradition of his race which this man had never broken, it was that of fidelity to his side—to the man who paid him. But he pursued it with only half his mind, in great misery, if you will believe me, sometimes in agonies of shame. Gradually, however, almost against his will, the drama worked itself out before him, until he needed only one thing."

"I looked at mademoiselle, trembling. But her head was averted: I could gather nothing from the outlines of her form; and I went on.

"Do not misunderstand me," I said in a lower voice. "Do not misunderstand what I am going to say next. This is no love-story;

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and can have no ending such as romancers love to set to their tales. But I am bound to mention, mademoiselle, that this man, who had lived almost all his life about inns and eating-houses and at gaming-tables, met here for the first time for years a good woman, and learned by the light of her loyalty and devotion to see what his life had been, and what was the real nature of the work he was doing. I think, may I know," I continued, "that it added a hundredfold to his misery that when he learned at last the secret he had come to surprise, he learned it from her lips, and in a such a way that, had he felt no shame, hell could have been no place for him."

Lack of space obliges us to omit a page which portrays the agony which this confession caused Mademoiselle de Cocheforet, who repeatedly begged de Bérault to desist and to leave her, but we must give the concluding paragraphs :

"You must listen to me a little longer, whether you will or no, mademoiselle, for the love you bear to your brother. There is one course still open to me by which I may redeem my honour; and it has been in my mind for some time back to take that course. To-day, I am thankful to say, I can take it cheerfully, if not without regret; with a steadfast heart, if not light one, mademoiselle," I continued earnestly, feeling none of the triumph, none of the vanity, none of the elation, I had foreseen, but only simple joy in the joy I could give her. "I thank God that it is still in my power to undo what I have done: that it is still in my power to go back to him that sent me, and, telling him that I have changed my mind, and will bear my own burdens, to pay the penalty."

"We were within a hundred paces of the top and the finger-post. She cried out wildly that she did not understand. "What is it you—you have just said?" she murmured. "I cannot hear," and she began to fumble with the ribbon of her mask."<sup>1</sup>

Of all Mr. Stanley Weyman's historical romances we care least for *Shrewsbury*. The story, it is needless to say, is well written, and besides giving striking and accurate pictures of England at the epoch of the Revolution of 1688, is original in design and carefully worked out. But most of the persons are singularly odious, and Charles Price, the narrator, is so hopeless a blockhead that it is difficult to become interested in his fortunes. With the best of intentions he has a genius for blundering, and the peril he incurs is mostly the

<sup>1</sup> *Under the Red Robe*, pp. 318-323.

consequence of his own folly. It is almost incredible that any man should have allowed himself to be the tool of that double-dyed miscreant and blustering traitor, Ferguson, while his loathsome tyranny could have been shaken off by application to the nearest magistrate and a substantial reward secured besides, or by the simple expedient of running away. Little Mary Ferguson shows a far braver spirit when she urges: 'Carry no more messages. Be sneak and spy no longer. Cease to put your head in a noose to serve rogues' ends. Have done, man, with cringing and fawning, and trembling at big words. Break off with these villains who hold you, put a hundred miles between you and them, and be yourself. Be a man.' All times of revolution afford picturesque scenes and telling situations, but the chief actors in the events which led to the flight of James and the accession of William are not attractive, despite the fictitious halo of romance which has been cast round the exiled Stuarts. And Shrewsbury himself, the one redeeming character of the tale, is a rather shadowy personage. The rest, with the exception of Mary Ferguson, are simply repulsive. The schoolmaster Mr. D, and his shrew of a wife, that shameless hussy Dorinda who reappears as Mrs. Smith, Lady Shrewsbury and the whole gang of conspirators make up a hateful crew.

*The Long Night*, one of the latest of Mr. Weyman's works, is not in our judgment one of his happiest efforts. The book is exceedingly well written, the story is carefully elaborated, the characters are varied and well drawn, there are pages of admirable and lifelike description, yet it does not gain a strong hold on the reader. As we endeavour to explain why it is not more successful we are reminded of Sir Joshua Reynolds' criticism of a picture. 'Good perspective, admirable drawing, excellent chiaroscuro, but it wants' (with a snap of the fingers) 'hang it, it wants that.' Is it that Geneva, the scene of the plot, lacks interest for the English reader? Is it that the fortunes of Claude Mercier, the Huguenot student, and Anne Royaume, the young Genevan girl, and Messer Blondel, the Syndic, and Basterga, the secret agent of the Duke of Savoy, a strange mixture of charlatan and scholar, of warrior and

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traitor—although each and all are well conceived and some of them powerfully drawn—are in too dull a setting to seize upon and enthral our imagination, and do not enjoy the atmosphere of historic prestige which encircles stories of French or English revolutionary times? Or is it—as is more probable—that *The Long Night* lacks movement, and that the writer has not sufficiently realized some of the actors and situations he places before us to make them instinct with vivid life and reality? The plot turns upon the treason of the Syndic, Messer Blondel, and its main interest lies in the mental struggles through which he passes in his selfish determination to purchase a remedy for the otherwise incurable disease from which he believes he is suffering at the price of the betrayal of his native city, of which he is the elected and trusted guardian. The long-drawn and gradually weakening resistance to temptation of the deluded Syndic, whose repeated efforts to make others get the 'remedium' which he dares not seize himself, are one after another foiled, and he finally has the bitterness of knowing that his crime was needless, and that his malady is non-existent; the hurried decision of Anne Royaume to steal the unique and priceless potion—*ὄσια πανουργήσασα*—that she may administer it to the brain-sick mother over whom she has watched so long and faithfully; the terrible imputation of witchcraft, vengefully cast over the bedridden mother and her daughter, and the loving and self-sacrificing stratagem by which the latter contrives to shut her lover out of the doomed house, where he would willingly (if need were) have perished with her, and wherein the two helpless women are now hopelessly immured—all these and a century of other telling incidents are interwoven into the pattern of the tale, after the most finished Stanley Weyman manner, and through the intricacy and peril of them all the threads of the narrative are followed here as ever to a successful issue, an issue all the more satisfactory because it has been won in fair fight and is obtained at the cost of many scars and unblenching courage.

It may be well to notice at this point a characteristic element in Mr. Stanley Weyman's teaching. He constantly inculcates the folly as well as the wickedness of evil. He works out with infinite dexterity righteous retribution for

guilt, and makes the offender fall into his own mischief. Under his handling there is an added bitterness in the remorse which dogs the heels of sin because the carefully planned treachery or murder is often as unnecessary as it is inexcusable, because the crime when executed proves useless to further the cause for which it has been perpetrated, because the cup of imaginary nectar, when raised to the lips, turns to gall, and the prize, fatally purchased, is shivered at the moment of its grasping. The avenging Nemesis is always on the alert.

'Raro antecedentem scelestum  
Deseruit pede Poena claudo.'

is the motto of Mr. Stanley Weyman's consummations. Messer Blondel and Charles de Vidoche, Hawksworth and Oriana in *Sophia*; Bully Pomeroy and Mr. Thomason in *The Castle Inn*; Sir John Fenwick and Smith in *Shrewsbury*; Ferdinand Cludde and Mistress Anne; Tignonville in *Count Hannibal*, and, most startling of all, the Abbess of Vlaye, are prominent instances. Of course this poetic justice is far from invariable in actual life. The wicked often nowadays, as of old, come into no misfortune like other folk, neither are they plagued like other men. But the lesson is none the less necessary and valuable. All down the ages its refrain has sounded as in inspired Scriptures, in the solemn rhythm of Attic tragedy and the lighter lyric of Latin Epicureanism, and we welcome it cordially in the captivating guise in which the novelist again enforces it.

*My Lady Rotha* is one of the most carefully elaborated, and one of the most telling, of Mr. Stanley Weyman's stories. The scene is laid in the period of the Thirty Years' War, and is full of the reek of slaughter, of the mingled squalor and squander, the revelry and wretchedness of the camp of a soldier of fortune, of the misery that desolated every Protestant State in Germany until Gustavus Adolphus came 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty,' of the horrors wrought by famine and pestilence and attempted treason during the siege of Nuremberg. At such an epoch no adventure is too exceptional or bizarre to be incredible, and the reader is carried on without serious shock to his notions of

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reasonable probability, except in the instance already noticed, through a whole series of hairbreadth escapes, any one of which might singly suffice for the crisis of a novel or a lifetime. A score of times the narrator—Martin Schwartz—the faithful steward and body-servant of Countess Rotha—is snatched from inevitable death at the very moment when relief seems absolutely impossible, and on most of these occasions his rescue is due to the courage and intrepidity of a girl so frail and timid that she glides almost like a shadow through the story. Like others of Mr. Stanley Weyman's books, *My Lady Rotha* is a story rather of incident than of character, but the gradual development of the narrative very skilfully evolves the making of the most splendid woman our novelist has as yet conceived. Nothing can be finer than her portraiture throughout. How grandly she bears herself throughout the perils she incurs in the camp of the freebooter, General Tzerclas, while he presses his unwelcome suit on her helplessness, with threats of death to her gallant cousin, the Waldgrave, and her steward, if she dares refuse him! How dignified and how womanly she is! By no means faultless, self-willed and disregardful of good advice, and hasty at times, she is yet forgiving, true-hearted, and high-minded. The reader might have anticipated that eventually the Waldgrave, with his handsome looks, and his dashing gallantry, who had been my Lady Rotha's companion in so many perils, who suffered so much, and loved her so truly, would have been her successful wooer: but she chooses, suitably with the loftier conception of her character, a man less outwardly attractive but of finer temper in Count Leuchtenstein. This *dénouement*, with which the story closes, is worth reproducing here:

"I am almost an old man," Count Leuchtenstein said, looking at her kindly, "and you are a young woman. Have you been amusing yourself at my expense?"

"The Countess shook her head. "No," she said, with a gleam of laughter in her eyes; "I have done with that. I began to amuse myself with General Tzerclas, and I found it so perilous a pleasure that I determined to forswear it. Though," she added, looking down and playing with her bracelet, "why I should tell you this, I do not know."

"Because henceforth I hope you will tell me everything," the Count said suddenly.

"Very well," my lady answered, colouring deeply.

"And will be my wife?"

"I will if you desire it."

"The Count walked to the window and returned. "That is not enough," he said, looking at her with a smile of infinite tenderness. "It must not be unless *you* desire it, for I have all to gain, you little or nothing. Consider, child," he went on, laying his hand gently on her shoulder as she sat, but not now looking at her. "Consider; I am a man past middle age. I have been married already, and the portrait of my child's mother stands always on my table. Even of the life left to me—a soldier's life—I can offer you only a part; the rest I owe to my country, to the poor and the peasant who cry for peace, to my master, than whom God has given no state a better ruler, to God Himself, who places power in my hands. All these I cannot and will not desert. Countess, I love you, and men can still love when youth is past. But I would far rather never feel the touch of your hand or of your lips than I would give up these things. Do you understand?"

"Perfectly," my lady said, looking steadfastly before her, although her heaving breast betrayed her emotion. "And I desire to be your wife, and to help you in these things as the greatest happiness God can give me."

"The Count stooped gently and kissed her forehead. "Thank you," he said."

To *Count Hannibal* we assign the palm, as at once the most powerful and the most brilliant of Mr. Stanley Weyman's romances; and as it is also, in its structure and conception, highly characteristic of its author's mind and manner, we will take it as the crucial example of his work. The scene opens in Paris on the eve of the terrible St. Bartholomew. Count Hannibal, brother of Marshal Tavaannes, has conceived a violent passion for Mademoiselle de Vrillac, who, as well as her betrothed, the Count de Tignonville, is a Huguenot, and he determines that he will save her, her people and her lover at the price of her hand. The enterprise is a desperate one. He must beard the King and the Court, the fury of the Parisian mob, and the wrath of the Church; but Count Hannibal is a man of blood and iron, whom neither difficulty nor danger can divert from his purpose. The plot lends itself to

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dramatic and strikingly contrasted situations—the presence-chamber of the Louvre on the fatal night when the irresolute King, maddened at the thought of the crime he has sanctioned, is alternately reckless and remorseful; the horrors in the streets of Paris when the tocsin has sounded from St. Germain Auxerrois and hell is let loose; the home of Mademoiselle, which has been destined to sack and massacre, where Tavannes, flinging open the shutters, calls for supper and lights and openly defies and beats back the mob which assails it; the scene in which Tavannes, who has pledged himself not to insist on his marriage with Mademoiselle except in Tignonville's presence—invites the latter to face the frenzied mob and save Clotilde's life at the sacrifice of his own; Tavannes' marvellous escape, his recognition of Tignonville in the disguise of a monk, the duel, the theft of the royal letters on the road to Angers—but it were too tedious to enumerate all the stirring incidents that crowd on one another in Mr. Stanley Weyman's pages. There are but brief breathing spaces between the crises, each of which in turn threatens apparently inevitable ruin.

As the story develops, the grandeur of the man's character—masterful, domineering, brutal as he is at times—gradually captivates Mademoiselle de Vrillac's imagination. How watchful has been his care of her! How untiring and absolutely unlimited his readiness to sacrifice his own life at Paris, at Angers, at Vrillac, to gratify or to save her, and that without a syllable of self-laudation or a hint of her indebtedness. How proud and unqualified is his trust in her honour and truthfulness even whilst he is still hateful in her eyes! How perfect his confidence in her under the most trying conditions! What inexhaustible self-control this fiery impatient spirit displays in his dealing with the helpless girl who is completely in his power. And Clotilde herself is portrayed with wonderful penetration. Even when she shrinks from Tavannes with all the horror of her soul, she will not break her word to him or escape at the sacrifice of her attendants. With true womanly heroism she dares to steal the King's letters from under his pillow—he conscious all the while, but motionless—to save the Huguenots at Angers, and the next

moment risks her own life and her lover's to rescue Tavannes from assassination. After all the hairbreadth escapes through which they have passed, deliverances against odds so fearful that heart of steel might well have quailed, it must have been hard to conceive a conclusion that should not be an anti-climax in comparison with what had gone before. But the difficulty is skilfully surmounted and the closing scene is worthy of the drama.

We have already partly anticipated the criticism that, besides the incidents lavished so abundantly in *Count Hannibal*, the story is replete with shrewd delineation of character. Mr. Stanley Weyman excels in so adroit a presentation of his heroes as to suggest more than he directly asserts of them, and so leave us with the conviction that they have a reserve of strength still unexhausted. He further enlivens his canvas with the cleverest introduction of subsidiary figures. In *Count Hannibal*, that shameless flirt Madame St. Lo, wicked and bewitching in equal degree, most daintily sketched in with a few telling strokes, affords an admirable foil to the shrinking but high-minded Clotilde. Count Tignonville again—Mademoiselle's plighted lover, with his selfishness and his instability and his weak resolves, which might have passed muster in average days, but cannot grapple with the horrors of that reign of carnage—how well are drawn his vacillations and his alternation of fury and despair, which, in the conditions, are pardonable enough, but sadly unheroic. Yet, poor as is his nature beside Count Hannibal, his failings are never overdone. Not even every strong man can bend the bow of Odysseus, and while Tavannes in strength of purpose and courage is more than a giant, Tignonville is not utterly despicable as a pigmy.

The culmination of the story is one of Mr. Stanley Weyman's highest efforts. The agony of the Countess, on whom is laid the burden of choosing which she will deliver to the gibbet, Tignonville or her husband; the suffering of Tavannes, lying helpless and sore wounded—all his plans blighted, his thoughts very bitter, his loneliness of the uttermost, yet determined to sacrifice himself and spare her, while he will not even ask, longing as he is, to see her, lest the request should stamp

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him coward, are described with infinite pathos. Each is ignorant of the other's purpose; the fatal hour is over, and Clotilde has entered the sick man's chamber as he slept.

"At length it is over!" she whispered. "Patience, Monsieur, have no fear, I will be brave. But I must give a little to him."

"To him!" Count Hannibal muttered, his face extraordinarily pale.

"She smiled with an odd passionateness. "Who was my lover!" she cried, her voice a-thrill. "Who will ever be my lover, though I have denied him, though I have left him to die! It was just. He who has so tried me knows it was just! He whom I have sacrificed—he knows it too, now. But it is hard to be—just!" with a quavering smile. "You who take all may give him a little, may pardon me a little, may have—patience!"

"Count Hannibal uttered a strangled cry between a moan and a roar. A moment he beat the coverlid with his hands in impotence. Then he sank back on the bed. "You have done that?" he whispered, "you have done that?"

"Yes," she answered, shuddering. "God forgive me! I have done that. I had to do that, or——"

"And it is too late—to undo it?"

"It is too late." A sob choked her voice.

Tears—tears incredible, unnatural—welled from under Count Hannibal's closed eyelids and rolled sluggishly down his harsh cheek to the edge of his beard.

"I would have gone," he muttered, "if you had spoken. I would have spared you this."

"I know," she answered unsteadily; "the men told me."

"And yet——"

"It was just, and you are my husband," she replied. "More I am the captive of your sword, and as you spared me in your strength, my lord, I spared you in your weakness."

"Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu, madame!" he cried, "at what a cost!"

"And that arrested, that touched her in the depths of her grief and horror; even while the gibbet on the causeway, which had burned itself into her eyeballs, hung before her. For she knew it was the cost to *her* he was counting. She knew that for himself he had ever held life cheap, that he could have seen Tignonville suffer without a qualm. And the thoughtfulness for her, the value he placed on a thing—even on a rival's life—because it was dear to her, touched her home, moved her as few things could have moved her at that moment. She saw it of a piece with all that had gone before, with

all that had passed between them since that fatal Sunday in Paris. But she made no sign. More than she had said she would not say; words of love, even of reconciliation, had no place on her lips while he whom she had sacrificed awaited his burial.

'And meanwhile the man beside her lay and found it incredible. "It was just," she had said, and he knew it; Tignonville's folly—that, and that only, had led them into the snares and caused his own capture. But what had justice to do with the things of this world? In his experience, the strong hand—that was justice in France; a possession that was law. By the strong hand he had taken her, and by the strong hand she might have freed herself from him.

'And she had not. There was the incredible thing. She had chosen instead to do justice! It passed belief. Opening his eyes on a silence which had lasted some minutes, a silence rendered more solemn by the lapping water without, Tavannes saw her kneeling in the dusk of the chamber, her head bowed over his couch, her face hidden in her hands. He knew that she prayed, and feebly he deemed the whole a dream. No scene akin to it had had place in his life, and, weakened and in pain, he prayed that the vision might last for ever, that he might never awake.'

We regard *The Abbess of Vlaye*, Mr. Weyman's latest romance, as in some ways one of his most successful efforts. His canvas is unusually crowded, but the men and women on it stand out in high relief, with much originality of conception and variety of character. The querulous old Vicomte and his two sons, the Governor of Périgord and the Lord of Vlaye, and the bizarre Duc de Joyeuse form a gallery of highly individual and contrasted portraits, to whom the sisters, Bonne and the Abbess, are fitting pendants, and even the shrinking, timid little Countess commands respect as the blue blood in her veins asserts itself and nerves her to face intolerable peril. The Duc de Joyeuse and the Abbess are distinct creations of the novelist's genius. The former indeed is an historical personage, but his remarkable presentation, monk and marshal, duke and capuchin, angel and devil—now poniarding a foe with lightning rapidity, the next moment telling his beads beside the corpse in an agony of remorse—a man whose piety in the cloister was only surpassed by his excesses in the world—is drawn with a

<sup>1</sup> *Count Hannibal*, pp. 360-362.

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masterly hand. But the crowning triumph of the romance is the Abbess, as fascinating as a basilisk and as dangerous—with her serene and saintly beauty, with the heart of Cain and the face of a Madonna: infinite in resource, pitiless in stratagem, absolutely dauntless in her overmastering passion for her lover, she hesitates at no crime to win him, surmounts incredible obstacles to compass her marriage, and has her victory dashed irretrievably at the very moment of her triumph. The thread of this woman's career is embroidered very skilfully into the pattern of the story, and there are many telling episodes which invite quotation. The consummate art with which she bewitches Joyeuse, the mental struggles that rack her spirit, the hatred she conceives for the poor little Countess, her splendid pride, her unquailing courage, are all powerfully drawn. If we reproduce the climax of the tragedy—for, so far as she and her lord are concerned, that is its most fitting name—it must serve as the last of our quotations.

The wicked hazard the Abbess has run, the danger to her own family, have been exposed, the betrayal and capture of the King's lieutenants have been crowned with success. Her husband have been reconciled to the trick by which she made herself his wife, is filled with admiration for her beauty, audacity, and cleverness, and listens in amazement as she reveals to him the steps by which his victory over Des Ageaux had been achieved.

'In the excitement of her triumph, in the intoxication of her desire to please him, she forgot the despair into which the act which she boasted had cast her a week before. She forgot all except that she had done it for him whom she loved, for him who now was hers and whose she was. "Who?" she repeated, "set the rabble upon them?"

"You?" he murmured. "Not you?"

"I," she said, "I"—and held out her hands to him. "It was I who told the brute beasts that he—Des Ageaux—had your man in hiding! It was I who wrought them to the attempt and listened while they did it! I thought indeed it was your Countess that was with him. And I hated her! I was jealous of her! But, Countess or no Countess, it was done by me! By me! And now do you think there is anything I will not do for you?—that there is anything I cannot do for you?"

'He was not shocked; it took much to shock the Captain of Vlaze. But he was so much astonished, he marvelled so much, that he was silent. And she, reading the astonishment in his face and seeing it grow, felt a qualm—now she had spoken—and lost colour and faltered. Had she been foolish to tell it? Perhaps. Had she passed some boundary, sacred to him, unknown to her? It must be so. For, as she gazed, no word spoken, there came into his face a change, a strange hardening.

'He rose.

"'My lord," she cried, clapping her hands to her head, "what have I done?" She recoiled a pace, affrighted. "I did it for you."

"'Someone has heard you," he answered between his teeth. "There is someone behind that screen."

'She faced about affrighted, and instinctively seized his arm and hung on it, her eyes on the screen. Her attitude as she listened, and her pallor, were in strange contrast with the gay glitter of the table, the lights, the luxury, the fairness of her dress. "Yes, listening," he said grimly. "Someone has been listening. The worse for them! For they will never tell what they have heard." And bounding forward without wavering, he dashed the screen down and aside—and recoiled. Face to face with him, cowering against the door-post, and pale as ashes, was the very man she had mentioned a minute before—that very man of whose hidden presence in the camp she had betrayed to the malcontents. "You!" he cried, "you!" "My lord!" "And listening?" "But——" "But! but die, fool!" the Captain retorted savagely, "die!" And, swift as speech, the dagger he had stealthily drawn gleamed above his shoulder and sank in the poor wretch's throat.

'The man's hands groped in the air, his eyes opened wider; but he attempted no return stroke. Choked by the life stream that gushed from his mouth, he sank back inert like a bundle of clothes, while the Abbess's low shriek of terror mingled with his stifled cry.

'And, with a sterner sound, another sound. For as the man collapsed and fell in on himself, a figure hitherto hidden in the doorway sprang over his falling body, a long blade flashed in the candlelight, and the Captain of Vlaze staggered back, one hand pressed to his breast. He made a feeble attempt to ward with his poniard, but it fell from his grasp. And the pitiless steel found his heart again. Silent, grim, with unquenchable hate in his eyes, he reeled against the table. And then from the table, dragging with him all—silver and glass and fruit—in one common crash—he rolled to the floor—dying.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Abbess of Vlaze*, pp. 376-378.

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We must bring our notice of Mr. Stanley Weyman's romances to a close. We have set before our readers some reasons for insisting on the educational value of historical novels under the special conditions of a vast contingent of English readers at the present day. We have selected Mr. Stanley Weyman as in our judgment among the foremost of the honourable corps of historical novelists, and have given some indications of his style and method in vindication of our choice. If our estimate has been in any degree too partial, it has perhaps been unconsciously biased by our satisfaction, amid the pretension and purpose of the throng of modern novel-writers, in having to deal with one who is content rather to awaken interest than to influence thought; who has no design to ventilate any political or social grievance; who does not aim under the guise of romance at troubling the reader with sceptical or socialistic theories, and who adds to the high tone of an accomplished gentleman the power which secures the interest of readers of every class. Rarely, indeed, does Mr. Stanley Weyman assume an openly didactic method of addressing us, and only in the *Abbess of Vlaye*, which came into our hands when a large part of this paper was already written, does the author indulge in moralizing. We take advantage of the opportunity thus for once afforded us of summing up the writer's uniform teaching in his own well-chosen words. Bonne and her crippled brother, two singular and charming creations of this ardent devotee of the strenuous life, are in the Peasants' Camp.

'But though the two [he writes] who looked down on the scene neither knew it nor thought of it, with them in their little hollow was a power mightier than any, the power that in its highest form does indeed make the world go round; the one power in the world that is above fortune, above death, above the creeds—or shall we say behind them? For with them was love in its highest form, the love that gives and does not ask, and being denied—loves. In their clear moments men know that this love is the only real thing in the world; and a thousand times more substantial, more existent than the things we grasp and see.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Abbess of Vlaye*, p. 208.

## ART. VIII.—THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

## IV.—THE RECENT LITERATURE.

1. *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek.* By A. WRIGHT, B.D. Second Edition. (London: Macmillan, 1903.)
2. *Das Evangelium des Matthäus.* Von D. THEODOR ZAHN. (Leipzig: Böhme, 1903.)
3. *Das Evangelium Marci.* Von J. WELLHAUSEN. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1903.)
4. *Das Evangelium Matthæi.* Von J. WELLHAUSEN. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1904.)
5. *Das Evangelium Lucae.* Von J. WELLHAUSEN. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1904.)
6. *An Introduction to the New Testament.* By A. JÜLICHER. Translated by JANET PENROSE WARD. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1904.)
7. *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. (London: Longmans, 1903.)
8. *The Gospels as Historical Documents. Part I. The Early Use of the Gospels.* By V. H. STANTON, D.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1903.)
9. *New Light on the Life of Jesus.* By C. A. BRIGGS, D.D., D.Litt. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1904.)
10. *Paradosis.* By E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. (London: A. and C. Black, 1904.)
11. *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu.* Von PAUL FIEBIG. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904.)
12. *Das älteste Evangelium.* Von J. WEISS. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903.)
13. *Das Marcusevangelium und seine Quellen.* Von R. A. HOFFMANN. (Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas und Oppermann, 1904.)
14. *Der historische Wert der ältesten Ueberlieferung von der Geschichte Jesu im Markusevangelium.* Von H. ZIMMERMANN. (Leipzig: Böhme, 1905.)

THE recent literature dealing with the Synoptic Gospels reflects the unsettled state of learned and unlearned opinion

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upon them. On the one hand there is a growing consensus in favour of that form of the critical analysis which sees in the canonical Gospels the final stage of a process which can be traced up-stream till we reach a period when the second Gospel, or an earlier form of it, and the so-called Matthean Logia (written or oral) were, as it would seem, the best known accounts of Christ's life and teaching.

On the other hand, opinion as to the historical value of our present Gospels, and of the sources upon which they are based, fluctuates between a judgment upon them as narratives characterized by minute historical accuracy, and an estimate of them as documents of little value if we wish to reconstruct the life of Jesus of Nazareth, though, no doubt, of interest as throwing light upon thought and belief in the Christian Churches at the end of the first and beginning of the second century.

It is the purpose of this review to endeavour to illustrate current opinion upon these topics by reference to a selected number of recently-published books. No attempt is made at completeness, and in particular the writings of popular assailants of the credibility of the Gospels, such as Mr. Blatchford, who does not profess to speak with first-hand knowledge, but rather attempts to fuse together the extreme utterances of many scholars into one gigantic ram wherewith to batter received opinion, are altogether passed over. This course has been taken because these able and interesting indications of a certain section of public opinion could only be adequately considered in a separate article.

The place of honour must be given to the first edition of Mr. Wright's *Synopsis*. It has, no doubt, many faults. A German writer criticizes it as betraying a too one-sided interest in St. Mark. But this we hold to be its chief merit. Of course Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* is a more scientifically complete work. But those who are beginning the study of the Synoptic problem want a book which is not too expensive, and yet one which will enable them to test the current theory that St. Mark's work has been made the foundation of the two other Gospels. This Mr. Wright has given them. He prints in luxurious quarto form the text of

the second Gospel, arranged in short lines with the parallels in similarly arranged columns on either side. Anyone who will take a text of St. Matthew or of St. Luke and read it through, turning to the *Synopsis* whenever he comes to a section contained also in St. Mark, may see for himself how these later Evangelists have embodied St. Mark's work, may note their variations from his order, their omissions, their insertions, their changes in phraseology, and may exercise his critical faculty in an endeavour to divine the motives which underlie this revision of his work. Mr. Wright's work would, we think, be still more widely acceptable if he would print, at a cheaper price, the text of his *Synopsis* without introduction or notes. Interesting as these are, they increase the bulk and the cost of the book, and would not be less useful if printed in a separate volume.

Among commentaries the work of Dr. Zahn calls for special mention. From an exegetical point of view it is probably the best book of the kind available, and will, we hope, soon be translated into English by someone who understands how to make his translation easier to use than is the German edition. A few additional chapter and verse references would make all the difference. The work is strongly conservative. The Gospel is a translation of St. Matthew's Aramaic work; the historical accuracy of the contents is consequently guaranteed by the authorship, though there has been some literary compilation of our Lord's sayings in the longer discourses. Dr. Zahn's careful and scholarly exegesis of the Sermon on the Mount is marked by solid learning and independence of judgment, and his longer discussions on such themes as the Kingdom of Heaven and the Son of Man will repay careful study. The work is a sort of conservative breakwater erected to check the advancing forces of critical analysis. But the effort comes too late. The anonymity of the Gospel, its Greek origin, its use of Greek sources, the impossibility of its being the immediate work, or a translation of the direct work of an Apostle, may all be said to be assured results of criticism; and unless there be an unexpected change of front in critical opinion Dr. Zahn's work will in this respect prove to have been an unsuccessful forlorn hope.

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The commentaries of Dr. Wellhausen on the first three Gospels carry us into a different atmosphere. They consist of short critical notes on the text, without introduction. The author presupposes the use of Mark by the later Evangelists, and gives his weighty support to a view which has been lately forcing its way into prominence, that the second Gospel was originally written in Aramaic. Among many interesting points we note the remark that Sidon (Mk. vii. 31) is probably a corruption for Bethsaida; ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως (x. 6) represents נֶחֱדָרָא and should be translated 'in the beginning of Genesis'; in x. 12 D and the Sinaitic Syriac have the original reading καὶ ἐὰν γυνὴ ἐξελθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ἄλλον γαμήσῃ. The Matthean phrase 'the kingdom of the heavens' is not original; Christ spoke as one of the people of 'God' and of 'the kingdom of God.' St. Matthew v. 5 is an interpolation from Psalm xxxvii. 11, and there are consequently seven beatitudes: cf. the seven woes in ch. xxiii. St. Matthew has moralized the Beatitudes, St. Luke is more original. St. Matt. xxi. 29, 28 are original in this order. The Jews who answer in v. 31 ὁ ὕστερος give a purposely perverse answer. The reply of Christ is therefore an expression of indignation at their wilful stubbornness. In St. Luke xiii. 32, 33, the words καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι and σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ are interpolations.

The work of Dr. Jülicher, in so far as it deals with these Gospels, is an able representative of the modern treatment of the Gospels, lacking indeed in sympathy, but good as a somewhat severe outline picture. The writer sees in the first Gospel the work of a Catholic Christian of the year 100 or thereabouts, who has used the second Gospel and a collection of Logia made by St. Matthew. The second Gospel is, as Papias said, the work of John Mark and is founded on reminiscences of the Petrine circle. The third Gospel owes its name to the fact that the writer has embodied in his second volume (the Acts) a document of travel written by Luke, the companion of St. Paul. Amid much to which exception might be taken we are glad to find Dr. Jülicher frequently affirming the true historical value of these Gospels. They are, he says:

'of priceless value . . . as authorities for the history of Jesus. Though much of their data may be uncertain, the impression they leave in the reader's mind of the Bearer of Good Tidings is on the whole a faithful one.' 'As a rule, there lies in all the Synoptic Logia a kernel of individual character so inimitable and so fresh that their authenticity is raised above all suspicion.' 'If the total picture of Jesus which we obtain from the Synoptics displays all the magic of reality, this . . . is owing to the fact that they . . . painted Jesus as they found him already existing in the Christian communities, and that this their model corresponded in all essentials to the original.'

In Dr. Estlin Carpenter's interesting book we have a very full description of the course taken by the historical criticism of the Gospels since the beginning of the eighteenth century. This is followed by an appreciation of the effect of criticism upon the conception of Christ as an historical person. Much that is said is intended to show that the 'Church conception' of Christ 'as a unique person whose speech and act are entirely divine' has been completely shattered. We are presented, *e.g.*, with the dilemma: 'Either the authority of Jesus suffices to establish the permanent reality of demonic agency, or he was in respect of that belief as much a man of his time as Peter or Paul.' But it seems to us that students of the Gospels will do well to avoid any preconceived conception of Christ, whether 'Church' or anything else, and to refuse to be led into any such antitheses. It may be the case that Christ assumed the reality of demonic agency. It may be true that an ultimate scientific explanation of these phenomena would leave demons out of its diagnosis. It may again be the case that Christ foretold His second coming at no distant period. And yet He may be, as the Gospels and all succeeding Christian evidence seem to us to show, One whose uniqueness is only adequately expressed in terms of Divinity, as the Christian Church has always asserted.

It is impossible in this paper to do justice to Dr. Stanton's most valuable work on the use of the Gospels in the second century. The book is notable not less for its learned examination of the second-century evidence than for its candour. The results reached by the writer exhibit this. Of the first Gospel he writes that the testimony of Papias

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'is such as to leave room for, if it does not suggest, the belief that Matthew's work has been incorporated in the Greek Gospel, but that the latter is not in any strict sense a translation of the former.' The words of Papias as to the second Gospel and its relation to St. Peter may represent its dependence 'as greater than it was in reality and yet contain a large measure of truth.' Of the third Gospel he writes, 'We can see no reason for his having been selected if he [St. Luke] was not the author.'

Dr. Briggs' little treatise is a very notable contribution to Gospel literature. The author endeavours to rearrange the ministry of Christ on a two years' basis. Our canonical Mark is wrong in saying that the ministry began after St. John's imprisonment. On the contrary, the incidents recorded in St. John ii. 1-11, St. Mark i. 16-45, ii. 1-17, St. John iii. 22-30, St. Mark ii. 18-22 all took place between Christ's baptism, soon after a feast of Tabernacles, and St. John's imprisonment, which occurred soon after the Passover of the following year. After that feast, Christ returned to Galilee, coming back to Jerusalem for Pentecost (St. John v.) In this second Galilean ministry fall St. Mark iii. 7 *sqq.*, St. Matthew v.-vii., St. Luke vii. 11-17, and the coming of the Baptist's messengers. After Pentecost came a third Galilean ministry, lasting till Tabernacles. In this occurred, *e.g.*, the events recorded in St. Mark iii. 31-v. 43, and the sending out of the Twelve. During their mission, Christ journeyed through Samaria to Jerusalem for the feast of Tabernacles (St. John vii.). He then sent the seventy into Peraea and Himself spent two months there. Here occurred the events recorded in St. Luke x. 25-37, xi., xii. 13-15, xiii. 1-17. He then returned to Jerusalem for the feast of Dedication (St. John viii. 31-x. 39), after which He spent another brief period in Peraea (St. Luke xiv.-xvii. 10). He then returned to Jerusalem to heal Lazarus, and after a short stay at Ephraim, went northward through Samaria (St. John iv. 4-43) to Galilee. Here fall St. Mark vi. 1-6, vii. 24-x. 46. After his final return to Jerusalem on a Sunday, He was crucified on Friday at the time of the sacrifice of the paschal lambs in the temple. His appearances after the Resurrection

took place on six successive Sundays, and on the seventh Sunday He ascended into heaven. This book will repay careful study. It is written from an orthodox and conservative standpoint. The author finds, for example, 'every reason to accept' the Gospel of the Infancy 'as giving a valid and essentially historic account of the Infancy of Our Lord.' He believes our canonical St. Mark to be a translation of a Hebrew Petrine Gospel, and suggests that Mark was also the author of the Hebrew source used in Acts i.-xii. The author of the first Gospel used the original St. Mark and the Logia of St. Matthew. St. Luke had the same two sources before him and in addition borrowed much from an oral source. The fourth Gospel as it now stands is the work of a pupil of St. John, who translated and rearranged the Hebrew work of the Apostle.

In Dr. Abbott's *Paradosis* we have a work of much curious learning. The writer tries to show that in the Synoptic Gospels the delivering up of the Son by the Father for the redemption of mankind has been confused with the delivering up of Jesus by Judas to the servants of Caiaphas. It may be questioned whether, if there has been so much corruption (Greek and Hebrew) in the pre-Synoptic Christian tradition as the author would have us believe, it is now possible to recover the untainted tradition. And, *e.g.*, it seems to us very improbable that the mention of Galilee in the first two Gospels in connexion with predictions of Christ's appearances after His Resurrection can be due to a misinterpretation of an Aramaic phrase meaning 'for your sake.' But the book deserves and will no doubt receive the careful study of Semitic scholars who are interested in the Gospels.

Of more general interest is Inspector Fiebig's comparison of the Jewish parables of the Mechilta with the parables of the Gospels. The writer's conclusion is that the parables of Christ were new not in form but in content. In this respect they stand high above the Jewish parables.

It has been noted above that there is a large amount of agreement with regard to the critical analysis which finds in the second Gospel the chief source of our first and third

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Gospels. There is less agreement as to the originality and unity of the second Gospel itself. Dr. J. Weiss, in a very valuable analysis of the Gospel, comes to the conclusion that it is in part based upon Petrine reminiscences. A list of the sections which he would place under this head may be found on p. 350. His reasons for denying a place in this list to other sections are extremely unsatisfactory, and are illustrative of the purely subjective methods of some writers. One main reason seems to be the presence in a section of the miraculous element. 'There is not only no necessity, but it is impossible to regard certain traditions of the Gospel as accounts of an eye-witness: I mention only the healing of the man with the withered hand, the healing of the blind man at Jericho, the darkness and the rending of the veil. Here the possibility of historicity ceases; they are pure legends.' But whatever we may think of the two latter incidents, is there any conceivable reason why an eye-witness should not have recorded the first two? They contain, says Weiss, crude miracles. A truer historical insight will, we believe, refuse to assert as an undeniable axiom that eye-witnesses may not and do not testify to events for which neither they nor succeeding generations have any sufficient explanation.

Of a different character is Herr Hoffmann's work. He examines in detail the Triple Synoptic Tradition with a view to showing that the second Gospel was originally written in Aramaic, that the author of the first Gospel used this Aramaic Gospel in its original form, that St. Mark translated and enlarged it, and that St. Luke used both the Aramaic original and the Marcan recension. The Greek St. Mark may have been written shortly before 70 A.D.

If Herr Hoffmann's book is too purely analytical to interest the general reader, let him turn to Dr. Zimmermann's admirable examination into the historical character of the second Gospel. This writer, too, believes in an Aramaic original, which must be of so early a date (since the Greek Gospel was written before 70 A.D.) that its composition by an eye-witness is not improbable. The miracles recorded are entirely lacking in legendary characteristics. The greater

part of the details recounted are based upon the testimony of the twelve Apostles, a smaller part to the record of other eye-witnesses, and there is nothing which an eye-witness could not have recorded. This language may seem rather too strong, but with slight modification we believe it to be true, and we heartily recommend those who are perplexed by statements that much of St. Mark's record is due to invention of parallels to Old Testament narratives, or to the influence of legendary motives, to read Dr. Zimmermann's sensible refutation of such theoretical fancies.

In looking back over the ground already covered in this review, there seems to be much reason for hope that we are approaching a period when, on the basis of a general agreement as to the sources of our three Gospels, the opinion of scholars as to their historical value will gradually become more uniform.

The question as to sources is already practically settled. St. Mark and a body of 'sayings' traditionally ascribed to St. Matthew form one group. Special information made use of respectively by the writers of the first and third Gospels forms another.

As regards the value of the first group there is already a good deal of agreement. And here a hopeful sign is the growing body of opinion that St. Mark is based on an Aramaic original. If this be so, the bulk of the Gospel must have been drawn up in Palestine at a very early date. The 'sayings' common to St. Matthew and St. Luke no doubt also go back to an Aramaic original, but perhaps not quite directly. We have, therefore, in St. Mark and in these 'sayings,' two Palestinian bodies of tradition, of which the least artificial and most probable of all explanations is that they represent the reminiscences of witnesses of the Lord's life. Theories which would make of these narratives the results of a long and intricate process of growth fostered by manipulation of Old Testament parallels, or by a desire to embody belief in the form of history invented for that purpose, or by the adaptation of ideas borrowed from folklore or religious legend, all break down when confronted by the simple challenge: Why should we not believe these narratives

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and these 'sayings' to be the faithfully transmitted memories of things which the Lord did, and of words to which He gave utterance?

Judgments upon the value of the contents of the second group will probably always vary with the predispositions, the historical presuppositions of individual scholars. Much that is recorded only by St. Luke—as, *eg.*, in chapters ix.-xviii.—may, we hope, be accepted as on the same level of value as the main contents of the second Gospel and of the Matthean tradition. The narratives, peculiar to the first and third Gospels, of the Birth of Christ, and some other of the sections found only in St. Matthew, will no doubt furnish for many years occasion of debate and of difference of appreciation. But even with regard to these it may be hoped that the wilder theories of direct borrowing from ancient legend may soon be tacitly dropped out of sight in scholarly circles, and that opinion may move in the direction of recognition that these narratives also represent very early Palestinian tradition.

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## ART. IX.—ETON AND EDUCATION.

1. *An Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College.* (London : Printed for R. Dodsley at Tully's Head in Pall-mall ; and sold by M. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row, 1747). Price sixpence.
2. *Sermons and Lectures delivered in Eton College Chapel in the years 1848-9.* [By E. C. HAWTREY.] Not published. (Eton : E. P. Williams, 1849.)
3. *Eton Reform.* [By W. JOHNSON.] (London : Longmans, 1861.)
4. *Hints for Eton Masters.* By W. J. [WILLIAM JOHNSON]. (London : Henry Frowde, 1898.)
5. *The Schoolmaster.* By A. C. BENSON. (London : John Murray, 1902.)
6. *An Illustrated Guide to the Buildings of Eton College.* By R. A. AUSTEN LEIGH. (Eton College : Spottiswoode and Co., Ltd., 1904.)

A VISITOR to Eton unacquainted with the place should enter it by the approach from Slough. As soon as he has left the last of the brown slate-roofed houses behind him, he finds on his left an enormous bare field of grass, carefully planted with avenues and groves of young saplings, which as yet have hardly assumed the appearance of trees. To his right stretch well-watered meadows, divided by streams and rows of willows, where sight is lost in depths of soft greenness. In front lie rounded masses of elms and chestnuts, above which towers in the distance the stately line of Windsor Castle. A little further along the straight flat road, the bare field on the left gives place to a kind of ancient park, embosomed in trees and bordered by flashing waters ; and then, as we stand on a bridge over a shadowy stream, we see before us a square Tudor building of red brick, battlemented and ivy-grown, and above and beyond it a line of stone pinnacles. Other buildings are grouped close beside it, their russet walls mellow in the sunlight, their white casements brilliant with flowers. The sweet, settled, English beauty of the place would anywhere

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be deeply moving. Who can describe what it means to those who return to it as to a home, for whom every corner, every tree, plucks some chord of remembrance, who owe to this little cluster of buildings a treasure of memories which they value more and more every day that they live? To such the love of Eton is no mere dutiful gratitude, no mere sentimental thrill. It is something which it is not an exaggeration to call a deep and vital passion. This abiding love centres round the innermost being of Eton, where are stored her stately memories, her liberal influences, her traditions of dignity and freedom. All these have contributed to form the spirit of the place—that bodiless magnetism, so hard to define, so inevitably felt, which a long chain of associations always produces. It is only by sympathy with this spirit that Eton can be understood; and if, as it is here proposed to do, we attempt to estimate the work that is being done and that might be done there, such sympathy must guide us at every step. This is the golden thread we must lay firm hold of: with this in hand we may proceed, not fretfully or impatiently, but with an honest endeavour to follow the path indicated.

## I.

Let us try in the first place to estimate what is the mental equipment with which the average boy leaves Eton. A great many hard words have been lavished on this subject. It is alleged—and the statement is quite true so far as it goes—that such a boy has spent four or five years, at Eton alone, over the minute study of the Classics, supplemented by History, Mathematics, Science, and French; and that at the end of that time he can hardly write a correct sentence of Latin or Greek, cannot read an easy book in either language with any comfort, much less with any literary appreciation; while his acquaintance with the other subjects is limited to their bare rudiments, and is of a very vague character at that. It is not denied, of course, that Eton on the whole turns out a fair proportion of good scholars; but the question here is of the average mass, and the most trenchant indictments are now heard on all sides against the intellectual cultivation which these receive. It is difficult of

course to support this railing accusation circumstantially; though the fact that it is a common practice for a boy to leave Eton before he need, to be specially coached for the extremely unexact entrance examinations at the Universities, goes a certain way towards corroborating it. But it is on the whole a case which can only be decided by general experience; and there seems to be very little uncertainty which way the decision has gone. Almost hidden under a cloud of false theories of education, of prejudices, of irrelevancies, the fact yet emerges that the average Eton boy 'knows nothing.'

It must be borne in mind that we are speaking solely of the educational side of the Eton training. Everybody knows that this is only one side of it, and most of the people who send their sons to Eton consider it of slight importance compared with the other. Where the father was himself at Eton, the fundamental motive for sending his son there lies no doubt a good deal further down. The deep sentiment for the place, which has already been spoken of, makes it inconceivable to him to send the boy elsewhere if he can help it. And above this motive comes his admiration of the moral and social training which the boy will receive there. We shall not in these pages touch further upon this side of the matter; but the most scientific educationalist can hardly wonder if, in the face of these strong inducements, the other side is held to be of small account. The average man who sends his son to Eton has the highest possible appreciation of the place as a training-ground for character, coupled with something like contempt for the educational methods in force there. But in the face of the obvious and supreme advantages that a public school bestows, it is inevitable that the simply educational part of the matter should go to the wall. Quite apart from sentiment, to refuse to send a boy to a public school because he might be better taught elsewhere is far too dangerous an experiment to play. He is sent accordingly; and a few years later is discharged, much as his father was before him, honest, unaffected, agreeable, capable of dealing with men, not afraid of responsibility; and with all this, phenomenally ignorant of all the subjects he is supposed to have been

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taught. So the story is begun over again. He thinks his school the finest in the world, he thinks the teaching he has received there contemptible, he cannot imagine sending his own sons anywhere else. Meanwhile the world at large pronounces upon him—and he is the first to agree with their verdict—that he knows nothing.

Now we shall try presently to indicate that this sweeping statement, which must be accepted for what it is worth, does not really imply such a complete condemnation of Eton methods of education as at first sight it seems to do. But it is first necessary to consider for a moment, however imperfectly, however unscientifically, what the purpose of a liberal education may be considered to be. We must begin at the beginning, and try to determine the ground plan, so to speak, which education should cover, before considering the varieties of style the building may subsequently show. What must be the first condition? Should it not be the power of mastering a thought, of penetrating through irrelevancies and fastening on the essential point? However much the central idea may be obscured by ornament or rhetoric or loose thinking, the mind must be able to clear all this away and to reach the real heart of the matter. Then comes the power of forming a deliberate and balanced judgment, of taking opposing considerations into account, of seeing different things in their due proportion and relation to each other. The work now becomes *synthetical*; the mind must be able to compare the results it arrives at, to measure the materials for forming a judgment, and to form it independently. As a result of this must come the faculty of self-estimation. A man must know his place, as the phrase is: he must be able to see himself as an object, in comparison with men, with life, with knowledge. He must have an open mind, not blocked up with prejudices and ready-made opinions, but a watch-tower from which he can use his eyes in any direction.

This first: and then, like the flower on the stalk, must come the appreciation of beauty in its widest sense. In a brisk and temperate air, the imagination must unfold its leaves. The mind must be capable of enthusiasm; it must take fire from the sight of greatness and nobility; it must be

responsive to high emotions; it must welcome whatever influences carry it above itself. There is no need to enlarge upon this; we may say at once that an education which has not strengthened the odd whimsical imagination which every child possesses, and set it upon the right lines, is one that has gone very far astray indeed in its methods.

This is the space, then, that education must cover. Its tendency must be to form a keen and honest mind, and to give it eyes for lofty and beautiful things; if it occasionally does less than this, the failure may be due to the boy, and not to the form of education; if it continually does less than this, the judgment must go the other way.

The initial question therefore is, Do the greater number of Eton boys leave the school with this mind and this imagination? It is a very easy question to answer offhand, either by yes or no; but it is absolutely necessary that it should be treated seriously, for it is a very serious matter. On it depends a more severe indictment of the Eton education than the charge that the boys know nothing.

Now it is a simple matter of observation—and the fact must be taken for granted—that the intellectual standard of English people is not high. We live in no rare atmosphere of thought; the books and amusements that are popular are those in which the mental effort is the lowest possible; there is no general impulse towards intellectual things, and very little respect for them. Moreover, there do not appear to be among the upper classes any signs of the raising of this standard. Of the two or three hundred boys who are yearly launched from Eton, how many will seriously contribute towards raising it? There are surely few people who would deny that most of them will step contentedly into the paths prepared for them, and that, so far as their intellectual equipment is concerned, they will bring with them an extraordinary zest for a few kinds of amusement, and a blank lack of interest for anything requiring critical or imaginative thought. It is true that, ignorant as they are of the subjects they have been taught, their ignorance is to some extent of a wholesome kind. They know nothing, but they have no belief that they do know. They are not like the boys, so

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distressingly common in another class, who think, when they have been through a course of history, that they know history and may now go on to shorthand. That is the attitude of mind which is the schoolmaster's greatest despair. It is the brick wall that shuts him out most effectively; and it is a highly valuable part of such an education as is given at Eton that it does not erect this wall. Whatever change is at any time brought about there, it is of the utmost importance that no such possibility should be introduced. At present, even if the very worst be admitted against the education at every other point, there still remains this window for hope. The boys do not feel that a subject is mastered and done with when they have once passed an examination in it. Not a very great result, it may be said, for Eton to be proud of after so much toil; but in fact it is a result more considerable than most people, who judge education simply from the standpoint of the larger public schools, are perhaps aware of; and to jeopardize that result is a thing to be most sedulously avoided. If Eton boys learn, as they do learn, that they are ignorant, it may be easy enough to teach them something more.

Yet Eton ignorance is arrogant too. If it does not look on its past entirely with satisfaction, it looks on its future with absolute complacency. Intellectual discipline is behind it, and the mind need never again take exercise on the treadmill and the rack. Unless a profession of some exacting kind is now entered on, there will be no necessity for any concentrated thought again; certainly there will be no desire for such. Moreover, not only will mental effort be eschewed, but the very meaning of imaginative pleasure will hardly be known. Art will be a dull form of amusement, relegated to eccentric people; and the higher kinds of literature will be untouched. A limited, satisfied, prejudiced man—that is what this particular variety of education has been able to produce.

This is not overstated. The defenders of the present state of affairs usually fall, as they look with satisfaction on the results they turn out, into one of two mistakes, or perhaps into both. In the first place they quite insensibly argue from

the exceptions. There will naturally, among a thousand, be plenty of picked boys ; not merely boys of first-rate capacity, but many others with lively minds, enough to make a respectable show at the Universities and in the learned professions, and a great deal more conspicuous than the large inert mass of which we have spoken. The sense of proportion is difficult to preserve over this matter. It is apt to seem a sufficient result if the number of successes is large. But then no number is large in comparison with a much larger, and who will count the failures ?

The second mistake is one made by a great many schoolmasters when they look round with pride on their flocks. They see their average boys agreeable companions, honest, healthy, well-disposed, respectful to their tutors, not intellectual perhaps, but sensible and affectionate. They ask if it is a bad system that has produced this average. But they do not at the same time see these boys losing that graceful deference, that youthful pleasantness ; they do not see the fresh lines hardening, the gay path contracting, that simple avidity for wholesome pleasure becoming a settled materialism ; they do not see these kindly boys turning into dull and narrow men.

Yet this is what happens too often. There is no essential life of the mind, only a few ready-made opinions ; and these, helped out by a sturdy indifference to the whole domain of thought, will be the full extent of their philosophical equipment for the rest of their lives. Many would perhaps deny this ; but if they deny it after considering the average Englishman of the class from which Eton draws, resolutely regarding his mind only, and not his general usefulness as a citizen and a father, or his pleasant manners, or his personal uprightness ; if they consider the extent of this man's accessibility to new ideas, of his imaginative vividness, of his power of criticism, and still deny that he is an uneducated man, then we are forced to ask them, where are their eyes ?

If they do not deny this, and yet defend the present methods of education, there are two positions they may assume. They may either say that the best is done for this average mass that admits of being done, and that if other methods were adopted the intellectual life of the majority

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would be fainter still ; or they may say frankly that the majority do not matter, and that it is more important for educators to concentrate their efforts upon the exceptions, and to produce a few really brilliant men, than to spend their labours in raising an average which at best will never be remarkable. There are as a matter of fact two other arguments occasionally used by educational conservatives. One is that, granted a change in method is required, yet what is wanted is a retrogression, a shifting back to the methods of our fathers ; this position, which is at any rate logical, will be considered presently. The other argument sometimes used in support of the existing condition—and it is not a pleasant one to hear in the mouths of schoolmasters—is that if the boys are uneducated when they leave school it is their own fault ; that it simply means they have neglected their opportunities, and that if they have not benefited by the training they have received, then they ought to have done so. Such a position as this may fairly be disregarded.

All these arguments we have heard from men entitled by position and experience to give an opinion in the matter. For the moment we will only consider the assertion of the exceptional boy's claim to outweigh the undistinguished majority. It is an interesting point, and not one that can, generally speaking, be lightly dismissed, though to admit it is of course to go against the whole of the modern democratic theory of education ; but, so far as the public schools of the first rank are concerned, the question surely does not arise. Plenty of special instruction is provided for clever boys, quite apart from the ordinary work of the majority. There is a sufficiency of staff to obviate any fear of the advanced boys being made to wait while the stupid ones catch them up. At Eton this has been effected in the last few years by a greatly improved organization as well as by the appointment of additional masters for special subjects. The corollary of this should be, not only that there is plenty of attention to spare for the average boy, but also that he need not necessarily be lashed to the same curriculum as the clever one. The large rich schools have a margin of expenditure, so to speak ; they are not hemmed in at every turn by want of money and men,

and they can afford to make their methods proportionately liberal and comprehensive.

Thus far, then, we have tried to show that whatever the explanation, whatever the excuse may be, the average boy does not leave his school with an educated mind, but rather with a limited and satisfied mind, which will stiffen in his middle age, as surely as cut grass turns brown, into dulness and prejudice. If this be so, there is no escape whatever from the question, Are we or are we not content to leave things as they are? Unhappily there are very few people in England who are interested at all in the matter, beyond those who are in immediate touch with education; and among schoolmasters there is not much chance for any but a few to take an effective hand in reform. Moreover, there is inevitably a large amount of conservatism among them; devoted and full of labour as they are, vested interests are very strong, and a man does not like to tamper with the branch on which he is sitting. Then, too, where private school, public school, and University are so carefully dovetailed into each other, it is easy to say that it is impossible for either to take the initiative. But sooner or later there is no doubt that the Universities will do so; and in the meantime it is not too much to hope that schoolmasters will examine the matter in the serene and liberal spirit which broods over their ancient towers, will ask themselves very anxiously whether they are sowing with good seed, and, if they are not, will be ready and eager to welcome it when the season comes, and they are given the chance.

## II.

We must now proceed to consider more particularly the education that is given at Eton, taking into account the theory on which it is based, and the practice by which it is conducted. It will be seen, we believe, that, though the idea which it expresses is an old one, little modified since the days of Hawtrey, yet the practice has become a very different thing indeed from what it was. The idea represented by a classical education is that a literary training is on the whole the best for all varieties of minds. It will make the best that can be

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made of the boy with a literary turn ; it will strengthen his critical faculties and chasten his taste. On the other hand, if a boy is not literary by nature, *à fortiori* it is all the more important to give him a literary training. The Humanities, as they are called with proud comprehensiveness, are essential if the boy's mind is to be moulded and not merely stuffed. Moreover, the classics have the additional advantage of supplying admirable material for what is called gymnastic ; Greek especially has a rich and noble grammar, which can be used for exercising the mind in accuracy and flexibility, until it can fasten with ease and enthusiasm upon the lofty literature of the ancients.

Now it is obvious at once that, whatever its merits, this is an extremely Procrustean theory. You are to lie down on the bed, and if you are too short for it, you will be well racked in the hope of making you the desired length ; the advantage to you will be a commanding increase of stature. It is improbable that the use of the rack was ever found to produce such a result ; and yet it is true that the literary atmosphere created by such a man as Hawtrey did undoubtedly have far-reaching effects upon more than a select few. It certainly seems to have fostered a general respect for literature which does not now exist. Of course for one Gladstone and one Arthur Hallam there were scores who ran their course and avoided all touch of the Humanities' sacred balms. But they were not, as now, the leaders of the race ; intellect was fashionable, and if the unintellectual did not exactly scheme to be seen in the company of the scholars or compile the averages of their academic successes, yet it was on the whole admitted that a literary culture was a grace which the mind should possess. That was no mean achievement ; and there is no doubt that, however it happened, literature did flourish under this simple and serene system. But it was essentially aristocratic ; it ministered only to the initiated few, and no kind of attempt was made to cultivate the illiterate majority ; it was enough if they stood aside and did not interfere. Yet it was a great age for Eton, and those cool and spacious days are pleasant to reflect upon in spite of all their shortcomings. They had to cease, of course,

when a more democratic theory arose; but they set very fragrantly with the courtly reign of Hawtrey, a man of real genius, and a most gracious and original personality. Then came the revolution, identified to a large extent with the name of another man of genius, William Johnson, who has been called one of the most remarkable intellectual forces of the nineteenth century. The peaceful circle around the guarded fountain was broken up; a royal commission made its descent; the 'blinking hierarchs of the old order' were dragged out into the light and told to give what account of themselves they could. The claims of the neglected majority were urged, and a board of brisk and practical men sat down to devise a new ritual. This was subsequently handed to the survivors of the *débâcle*, and with many warnings that they would not be out of reach of the law if they offended again, they were left to put it into practice. To change the metaphor, the curriculum once more jolted on its way; only now it was capacious enough to hold gentle and simple alike, and the drivers were expected to see that none were left behind.

This was a generation ago, and perhaps we are far enough away now to appreciate both the nature and the result of the change. It was immensely important of course, as being the first introduction into Eton of the theory that she owed an education to her stupid as well as to her clever sons, and that it was her duty to see that they had it. But the reformers trod warily; they saw that the classics had done good work, and they held that, tempered by the addition of a few modern subjects—Mathematics, Science, Modern History—the classics might remain the foundation of a more popular education. Time has gone on, and public thought has made still other demands. French and German must find a place, Geography is necessary; besides, a smattering is always undesirable, so the boys must be well grounded in all these subjects. Yet the classics must retain their predominance; the chief efforts must be concentrated on them, and, though the teaching in the other subjects must be thorough, Greek and Latin shall spread over a wider field.

We must look more closely into the condition thus arrived at. In the first place it is clear that the classics, though still

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occupying more time than anything else, can now only be allotted about half the amount they had under the old régime. It would seem, then, that some compromise must be made: either there must be less insistence on rigid accuracy, and grammar must be glided over lightly, so that the actual range of authors read need not be narrowed; or, if accuracy is to be retained in full, the distance to be traversed must be less, and the attempt to make the boys read the more difficult authors must be abandoned. In other words, there must be some kind of compromise between the gymnastic view of the classics, which holds that they should exercise the brain, and the literary view, which holds that they should purify the taste and enrich the imagination. But no such thing: all the old accuracy is insisted on, grammar must be thoroughly learnt, no difficulty must be slurred over; and at the same time the boys must read Vergil and Tacitus, Aeschylus and Thucydides, and be able to see that they are great writers. A similar precision is demanded in the other subjects: the boys must be well grounded in Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry; their History must be thorough; their Science must be business-like, no mere trifling with a few popular experiments; the teaching of French must follow the same laborious lines.

Now the natural result of all this, as has recently been pointed out by a well-known schoolmaster,<sup>1</sup> is a state of acute congestion among the subjects taught. Modern elements have been freely admitted; but the classical tradition has remained very strong, and the determination to give the classical side a steady preponderance has not been relaxed. It is still claimed that the classics shall do the double work, gymnastic and literary, and that, too, in the case of every boy, which they were able to do for a select minority when they held the whole field. What an impossible demand this is can be realized when we see the amount of labour on the part of the masters—an amount that would have been regarded by the old school as a perfectly unjustifiable burden—which streams hopelessly to waste. Small boys will endure a large amount of drudgery; they

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. A. C. Benson, in *The Schoolmaster*.

will work busily and without question, more in the desire for approval than from interest in what they are doing; and it is very little effort to them to acquire long strings of irregular verbs and misbegotten forms. But as they grow older there soon comes a change; work is no longer accepted as an inevitable fact in daily life; if it does not interest, or seems to have no bearing upon life, a minimum only can be extorted from them. This is the time when schoolmasters must more than ever beware of asking impossibilities. The obvious temptation is to bribe the boys to work by offering them a great variety of easy entertaining things; it is so difficult to interest boys of sixteen or seventeen in their work, that it might well be thought that to do so was the whole battle. This is the mistake that has led, in so many schools designed for another class, to the 'toy-box education' by which the mind is divided into innumerable little tightly-shut compartments. But public schoolmasters are well aware of this danger; and the result is often a somewhat defiant assertion on their part that their aim is not to interest the boys, not to make them dilettanti and amateurs, but to harden their heads and brace their minds.

How is the process conducted? In the first place, it is already determined that the chief elements of the training shall be linguistic and literary; that is a foregone conclusion. Admitting for the present that this is right, and that Greek and Latin shall be the languages selected, let us see what happens next. Take for example an average class, aged about seventeen, sitting down, as is quite likely, to read a play of Sophocles. A fixed number of lines has been set for the day's lesson; the boys are supposed to have learnt them—that is to say, they must not only be able to translate them, but they must be ready to parse the verbs, to detect grammatical subtleties, and to give some account of the places and people that turn up by the way. One of the boys is 'put on' to construe; and the rest of the class are invited to face the extraordinarily difficult task of listening to the stumbling version of the construer, interrupted continually by the master for comment and embellishment, of comparing it with the Greek and mentally correcting it, and

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at the same time of following the thread of the story and deriving artistic enjoyment from its treatment by the author. The amount of mental concentration necessary to do all this for a continuous hour is enormous, even for a trained scholar; it is too heavy a tax to lay upon immature minds with no special bent towards language or literature. Then, too, if the work is to be done on a scale of this minuteness, a page or two is the most that can be got through in a single lesson. It is beyond reason to demand that under all these circumstances the average boy is to realize that the play is one of the noblest efforts of art that the world has seen. It must be remembered, too, that the works of such writers as the Greek tragedians, as well as Thucydides, Virgil, and others, which all form the regular school text-books, are literature of a peculiarly arduous and lofty kind, far beyond the mental scope of most boys. If one wished to train a boy without any sense of literature, who scarcely ever read a book for his own pleasure, in such a way that he might learn to love English poetry, one would scarcely start him with 'Samson Agonistes'; but that would be sense and reason compared with giving him the 'Medea,' or the 'Antigone,' for the same purpose.

Many schoolmasters who cling to the classical tradition would admit most of this, but would urge that, however little result may be evident, yet to place a boy in the presence of great and noble things cannot be without effect. That is a very hopeful doctrine, and it is undoubtedly to some extent sound. Dignified surroundings, for example, stately buildings and ancient pleasure-grounds, have direct influence even on people who appear to regard them least. But they do not exert it like talismans or witches' charms; their power is simply that they stand there in open beauty for all to see, however heedlessly; whereas the exalted literature that is to have the same effect is veiled and swaddled in a dozen wrappings—the chopped-off portion to be learnt, the squalid page, the learned comment, the wretched datives and genitives with their fond nicknames. Something may be accomplished where the master is an exceptionally vivid and picturesque teacher. But such a man is not easily found, and even he can effect but little, stopped as he must be at

every step by the grammatical boulders which his class may not skip happily over, but must bind upon their backs and carry with them. It is clear to all that for the proper study of the classics the time allotted to them is about half what is required ; it is beginning to be clear to many that for three boys out of five they are far too difficult when attempted in this exhaustive fashion.

The same double object is aimed at in teaching the boys to compose in Latin and Greek. Here, again, the training is to be both mental and imaginative, the mind being exercised by the necessity of writing grammatically, the taste by the necessity of writing in a literary style. The latter demand, so far as it is laid on the average boy, is palpably out of the question. It needs a very distinct literary sense to be able to discern and reproduce differences of style in a foreign language. The first demand, however, is one that may very rightly be laid on all. To write simply and correctly in a foreign tongue is by no means an impossible task for average boys, and it is one which absolutely compels a certain amount of clear thought ; the radical differences between the language, whatever it may be, and English, must be understood ; the two must be compared, and the process is an invaluable one for giving the boy an idea of the structure of his native tongue. The utility to average boys of composition in verse is different. The literary part of the matter is practically negligible ; by diligent use of the *gradus* they easily acquire a number of metrical tags and stock phrases, Ovidian, Horatian, or Vergilian. But if that has any effect at all on the taste, it is, perhaps, slightly to corrupt it, by giving the idea that a poem is built up by phrases selected out of a large stock common to all poets. The utility of the business, such as it is, lies chiefly in the ingenuity necessary to fit these scraps like a puzzle into the particular metre selected. There is no doubt that boys put into this process, which is one that they can entirely understand, a considerable amount of really solid thought. Whether this is a very dignified use to put a language to is another matter ; it certainly cannot be claimed that it gives much insight into its formation.

It is obvious, then, that to teach the classics to boys

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without any special inclination for them, would be a matter at the very least of great difficulty and labour, even though little else were attempted. What can be the result—what hope can there be of producing any deep general effect, when five or six other subjects are added, in each of which the boys are expected to show the same accuracy, the same endurance of drudgery? Not to speak of the heart-breaking toil it imposes on the masters, what chance is given to the average boy of emerging at the end of it all with a sound and elevated mind? This is a question of extreme gravity, and sooner or later it must be realized that, if it cannot be fully and satisfactorily answered, Eton is not being true to herself. It is useless to point to the education, in many ways admirable, that boys of exceptional capacity receive there; it is unworthy to turn the question aside by extolling the great gifts of Eton in the formation of character; it is deeply unjust to say that from the minds of average boys nothing more can be expected or hoped for. These boys are freely given to Eton, and they repay her care with a depth of devotion which has been described as more like that of lovers than of sons. If they in their turn are not given the very best of all that Eton has to offer, the liberal and all-embracing genius of the place is being most grievously wronged.

### III.

We cannot here undertake any detailed attempt at a constructive programme. That is an empirical matter; the onlooker may form his opinion of the results at present produced, and of the methods in force; only the schoolmaster may decide how best to replace those methods if they fail. But we may be allowed to suggest some of the points that will need to be borne in mind when the difficult situation is seriously faced. What is equally important, we may indicate one or two of the ideas to be met with here and there which in our view will need to be discarded.

In the first place, then, a definite conception, and not a mere hazy sentiment, must be formed of the ultimate object in view. Something has already been said on this point, and

we may now restate it more succinctly and perhaps more comprehensively. In a few words, the end to be accomplished is this: an intellectual desire must be aroused for whatever is best, and the mind must be given the efficiency to recognize and fasten upon it. This much is the boy's least claim upon education; if he receives less than this, something is wrong. It may sometimes happen that he has not the power to assimilate so much, but such will be isolated cases; if failure is frequent, the education must take the blame.

The next step for the educator is one of renunciation. All foregone conclusions must be shattered; the man who loves the classics must put them aside; the mathematician, the scientist, the man who builds on modern languages, all must renounce their personal predilections. There must be no advocacy, no party strife. Each must throw his material into the common stock, and recognize that it has no *a priori* claim to be selected. Any such idea must be abandoned as that 'a boy ought to know this.' Confronted with any such assertion schoolmasters will ask, Why ought he to know it? Because as a matter of fact all educated men do know it? That is no argument; you might as well recommend a man to change his class by improving the cut of his clothes. Because it is useful? It all depends on the way in which it is useful. Because it is interesting? But it is not interesting to everybody. Because—and this is likely to be the final reason urged—it ought to be interesting to everybody? And the counter-question to that is, Why ought it? In the formation, then, of a liberal education, no single subject has an inalienable right to be selected, unless it can be shown to help directly towards the object in view. With the single idea of attaining this object, in the fixed remembrance of the boy's claim, the work of selection will be begun.

What will be the position assigned to the classics? There are some who believe so intensely in their universal power, that they would wish to discard nearly everything else, and virtually to return to the old Eton system. They admit that in the majority of cases their success is now very slight, but they claim that this is solely due to the overcrowded condition of the curriculum; if they had the same unhampered

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space as of old, an education could be provided for every boy from the classics alone. It is almost certain that the proposal at this late hour to banish all other subjects is impracticable ; but it is just possible that Eton might prove strong enough to carry it through ; so that argument shall not be used against it. The fundamental objection to the idea is that it reverts again to the bed of Procrustes. Even if it could be shown that with plenty of time for the process, and with modern scientific methods, everyone could be made to fit it, yet the essence of the new education, as we shall presently see, will be that everybody is given a full chance of revealing himself in his own best way. To say that all boys will have this chance from the study of the classics alone is to assume that they all have a special bent towards language and literature, for without this no one will ever reap the full and complete benefit of Latin and Greek. The question must be very carefully considered whether or no Greek should be taught up to a certain point to all boys. As for Latin, it will probably be found that a certain amount must be retained for all boys, if only as a means of teaching them English. If a boy learns the grammar of one language, that of all others is immensely facilitated ; and for this purpose an inflected language is the best. Moreover, the fixed form of Latin, with its definite, inflexible rules, makes it on the whole the language which gives the best training in accuracy. Latin grammar and simple prose composition will thus remain, while composition in verse will disappear in the case of ordinary boys. It is quite certain that the method of classical education ought in some points to be reconsidered, and we are glad to see that the Classical Association is doing this. It may be possible perhaps by the use of translations and through the study of ancient history, to give the boys an idea of what is meant by the Hellenic spirit, and of the incalculable debt that the modern world owes to Greece and Rome. This is not done now for the average boy.

But while it may be admitted that the whole subject and still more the method of a classical education demand the most careful consideration, it must be remembered that the defenders of the old system even in its most Procrustean

character have one very strong argument in their favour. Whatever may be said of a classical education, 'modern' education has failed in most cases completely. The educational reformer damages his case very considerably by the assumption which he makes that it is only narrow-minded and prejudiced conservatism which continues to vote for compulsory Greek at Oxford and Cambridge. It is not that at all. The majority of those engaged in tuition at the Universities have made themselves at one time or another acquainted with modern-side education, and have probably examined modern-side boys, and they know that with very few exceptions they are uneducated. Even on their own ground they can rarely compete with the boy who has had a classical education. There are many science teachers who have very great doubts whether science teaching in schools is of any real value for training men of science. Various excuses are brought forward for this by those who are willing to recognize the facts; they point out that it is only the inferior type of boy who as a rule joins the modern side, they point out further that the subjects have only been taught for a little time and that the best method of teaching them is little known. This is true, but the fact remains that the results of a 'modern' system of teaching have not so far been good. As Sir William Anson pointed out at Oxford in the debate on the Greek question, educational reformers must devise and carry out a system of modern teaching which will produce the same results of mental discipline and literary culture which the classics undoubtedly confer on those who benefit by them.

We cannot follow much further the formation of the new programme. The details will be filled in by degrees, as soon as it is thoroughly realized that, for the attainment of a liberal education, no given piece of knowledge whatever is required. But for every boy there is one way towards that attainment which is better than another; and it should be the schoolmaster's care to detect in each individual case which way that is. This is a difficult and anxious task, for a boy's own instinct in the matter is not always to be trusted. In any case his mind must be carefully tested on all sides

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before he is allowed to concentrate upon any particular subject. At the same time it must be remembered that he has an individuality, that he has qualities and capacities differing in a hundred subtle ways from those of the boys round him, and that there must be ample opportunities for him to bring out his best, whatever it may be. As for the main course of instruction, through which every boy will have to pass—that is a matter which must be adjusted gradually; all we can do here is to glance at a few possibilities. Simple mathematics will undoubtedly be retained for their training in reasoning and accuracy. The inclusion of the elements of natural science will be keenly supported by many, but this is too often the result of the same helpless doctrine that a boy ought to know about such things. Without a special aptitude for the subject it is difficult for him to take an imaginative hold upon science; and unless he does this the collection of a few scraps of knowledge will not have much effect upon the formation of his mind. Something might perhaps be done by means of the more obvious forms of natural history, though even these have no attraction for many boys. But it should be possible, without fixed science lessons, to discover whether a boy has any special bent that way; and of course, if he has, a highly valuable education both for the reason and for the imagination can be obtained thereby. Could not some development of the 'object lesson' of the elementary school be devised for the lower forms of public schools? The proper place of modern languages, the value, for example, of French, which is an intensely literary language, entirely classical in its definiteness and subtlety, yet not so difficult as to make it impossible for average boys to feel at home in it; the value of History and the best means of teaching it; and the manner in which the prodigious wealth of English literature can be drawn upon—all these demand very careful consideration. Modern languages, it must be remembered, hardly supply proper brain-discipline; English literature and History are too often associated with mental inaccuracy; without something like a study of Nature the faculty of observation remains undeveloped.

But, whatever the groundwork may be, it will be remem-

bered that none of these subjects is cut off and isolated from any other. A liberal education is not a box with water-tight compartments. It is like a great circle of arching trees, through which the sunlight pours down upon fountains and green turf. As one stands in this circle one looks on every side down long radiating avenues, stretching in shadowy vistas, each leading to some bower or palace too faint to be descried. In this central ring the boys are gathered, dropped as it were from the skies. They are shown the flashing waters and the flakes of sunlight that stir softly on the grass beneath the branches. One by one they look round them, and their eyes travel along the spacious avenues. This will attract the imagination of one, that of another; one by one they start out along their chosen paths.

So must it be in the school. At the centre of these branching ways the boy's mind is trained and enriched; meanwhile the master watches, anxious and vigilant, for the individuality to reveal itself. He will force the boy down none of the open paths till he has made his own choice; but he will take care that he understands the meaning of patience and precision and unfettered admiration, and how a boy's education is not ended when he leaves school. When he has learnt these things he may take his own way if he so elects, and it will be the master's care to speed him in good time. Many, perhaps most—and they are those whom we have been especially considering in these pages—will not choose thus; they will not have the gifts of intellect to lead them along any peculiar path of their own. Yet, if they too have learnt the same lesson, the master's labour has been well and sufficiently bestowed.

Such is the work, roughly and incompletely sketched that many lovers of Eton hope to see her accomplish. They cherish the idea that she will realize her educational system to be largely both wasteful and unjust, out of harmony with her lofty traditions and liberal spirit, an unworthy return for the love that is lavished on her so freely. They trust and expect that no prejudice or arrogance will prevent her from rendering a full measure of her best gifts to each one of her sons. They look confidently forward to the day when she

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will begin to foster the least brilliant of them with all that patient and wise devotion in which her walls were founded. She will be no more truly loved than she is now ; that would not be possible. But the deeper her children's love, the stronger is their desire to see her true to herself, worthily fulfilling the high trust she has held for so long beside her crystal waters.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

### I. BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

*A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish.* By the Rev. G. A. COOKE, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.) 16s. net.

DESIGNED at first for mere examination purposes, this book has grown into something so much more valuable that no one will find fault with the author for not having completed his task so quickly as he intended. Meanwhile Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik* appeared, and Mr. Cooke acknowledges his obligations to it. But there was still room for an English handbook where a representative collection of inscriptions is comprised in a cheap, convenient volume with introduction, translations, notes, plates, and excellent indices—indeed, almost every aid that could be desired for the pursuit of this attractive study. The translations take the place, more or less adequately, of a glossary, and of course have advantages of their own. The photographs and facsimiles are just sufficient for the illustration of a handbook which is to be carried about as a working companion. A somewhat fuller introduction would have been welcome. Six pages are little more than enough to whet the reader's appetite, though he will find as he goes through the notes that the information he desires is indicated there ; and, indeed, the severity of the book, compelling the reader to work things out for himself, is not without its charm. Still a brief, spirited account of how inscriptions have been discovered, what they look like, by what steps their interpretation has been advanced, and what have been the individual achievements of great scholars in this field, would have kindled enthusiasm—*ut puerorum aetas improvida iudificetur laborum tenuis*. However, Mr. Cooke has planned his own book with deliberation, and may be allowed to know

best what should be included in it. A real fault in the introduction is the difficulty of learning from it the meaning of the title 'North-Semitic.' On the one hand there seems to be a misunderstanding of some words in Wright's *Comparative Grammar*; on the other, the terms Northern and Central are applied to the same set of compositions from different points of view, and Mr. Cooke, seeing it himself no doubt quite clearly, has forgotten that some of his readers will miss the hidden connexion of thought. A difficulty of the same kind arises out of the note on 92. 1, which begins 'As used in Nabataean מִסְכְּנָה means, not "the place where one prostrates" (مسجد

mosque), but "an object before which one prostrates," and ends 'At any rate the monument was supposed to represent the person who erected it, and to plead for him before the deity.' A reference to Lagrange is added, but the context itself does not make it evident why that which represents the worshipper should be an object before which he prostrates himself; the connexion is obscure.

There is, however, no serious difficulty in making out why these inscriptions should be grouped together. They fall into two classes, Canaanite and Aramaic, and the Aramaic is the Western Aramaic, though there are a certain number of examples (see additional note on the dialect of the Zenjirli inscriptions) which show a kinship with Arabic and are also influenced by contact with Assyria. This applies to the language. The places where the inscriptions were found are sometimes far away from the proper home of the composers: as, for instance, South Shields, where a bilingual inscription (now in the Free Library) was found in the Roman camp. It is interesting to meet with a community of Phoenician merchants and ship-masters settled at the port of Athens, and still maintaining, B.C. 200, in the land of their adoption the religion and organization of their native city (34, 35), while 33 shows that they had, by 96 A.D., in many respects adapted themselves to the Greek civilization in which they lived; or to read in 102 how Nabataean merchants had established themselves and the worship of their native deity at the harbour of Puteoli; and how one of them dedicated some object for the life of their native king Aretas and his family, A.D. 5, and deposited it in the recently restored sanctuary which had been built some fifty years before.

The inscriptions will be studied chiefly by those who are acquainted with (at least) Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic. They are printed in the ordinary square Hebrew letters, and the necessary guidance for pointing and interpreting is given in the notes. It is not to be expected that everything there stated should meet with universal

approval; criticism of the article is not the ground on which he certainly has to the ground by introduction of Bevan's may also Mr. Cooke appreciates criticism of his person Mr. Cooke is too in the difficult; an inscription the old Bar-rek

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approval. Mr. S. A. Cook has subjected the book to a searching criticism in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January 1904, and his article will be found indispensable for a thorough understanding of the subject. It would be superfluous to attempt to go over the ground again which he has so completely covered. In some cases he certainly seems to be right in correcting Mr. Cooke, as with regard to the question whether the passive is ever formed in Aramaic dialects by internal vowel-change (see 147 i. 8, note, where the pointing of הִתְקַנָּה should be corrected): on this and other points Professor Bevan's remarks in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1904, may also be referred to; he too, as might be expected, disagrees with Mr. Cooke. But Mr. S. A. Cook, writing throughout with generous appreciation of another's labours, ends very justly by saying that his criticisms only affect points of detail, and in many cases only reflect his personal opinion, and in no wise detract from the excellence of Mr. Cooke's careful work. He contributes one elucidation which is too interesting to pass over. Mr. Cooke, in his note on 63. 17, בֵּית כְּלָמוֹ, treats כְּלָמוֹ as an ordinary noun, but recognizes the difficulty. This has now been partly cleared up by the discovery of an inscription of Kalammu son of Ḥazan at Zenjirli. Apparently the old house of the Kings of Sam'al was *Kalammu's* house, and Bar-rekub built himself a new one.

In one way or another very many of these inscriptions have some bearing on the language of the Old Testament. Phoenician is so like Hebrew that early examples would be valuable. Unfortunately these are rare, all in this collection but three fragments from Cyprus being subsequent to the sixth, and the majority belonging to the fourth century or later, 'by which time the language had probably undergone a certain amount of decay.' Even so, however, some interesting lines of inquiry are opened, as in 31 (circ. saec. iv. Abydos), where the expression בַּפְטָרָה seems to mean 'after the decease of.' Now, פָּטַר has the sense 'depart, escape,' e.g. in I Sam. xix 10, and in post-Biblical Hebrew frequently occurs, in the *Nifal*, with the meaning 'depart (out of this life),' e.g. Talm. *Berakoth* 17a, וְנִפְטָר בִּשְׁם טוֹב מִן הָעוֹלָם. Here, in Phoenician, the link between the two usages is perhaps to be found. The Edessene Syriac use of ܦܬܪ may also be compared, Lk. xii. 36 (Sin.), Phil. i. 23 (Pesh.). In 21 (saec. iv. B.C., from Kition, now in Brit. Mus.) certain persons are styled severally רַב סָרְסֵר, a phrase not found elsewhere, but interpreted 'chief of the brokers,' from a clue given by Rabbinic literature in which סָרְסֵר is used for 'mediator' and is applied to Moses, while in other places it means a 'negotiator' in a business transaction. Thus a remarkable term in theology seems to be traced to the business

habits of the ancient Phoenicians. Mr. Burkitt suggests that Gen. xxxix 1 may contain an early prae-LXX corruption, פֶּרַעַה סֵרִיס 'Pharaoh's man of business.' סֵרִיס here has always been a difficulty, and may be due to dropping of the final ך, or rather to the misreading of the less familiar סֵרִיס as the familiar סֶרֶס, regardless of what follows. The Aramaic examples continually throw light upon the Old Testament, not only in its Aramaic parts, but in those others where Aramaic influence appears in the Hebrew.

'The evidence of the Aramaic inscriptions is specially valuable, because it proves the wide extent to which Aramaic was used in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires (cf. Is. 36. 11), and because it exhibits the language at an earlier stage than the literary dialects. In the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions we find a dialect which is nearly related to the Western or Palestinian Aramaic of the Old Testament and of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. The dates of the Old Testament Aramaic cannot in all cases be determined; parts of Ezra are probably as early as the 4th cent. B.C., Daniel was written in the 2nd cent. B.C.; the inscriptions prove that this particular type of Aramaic was used in the countries bordering upon Palestine down to the 3rd cent. A.D.'

A few hours spent on these inscriptions will thus enable many people to grasp with quite a new reality of apprehension those linguistic arguments for the date of such a book as Daniel, which they have taken on trust, or with mistrust, from the commentators. On the other hand, the frequent parallels in language and expression with Qoheleth are instructive; so too בְּרִיל in 110, which is Hebraized בִּשֶׁל in Jonah i. 7, 12, cf. Qoh. viii. 17, and עֲתִיקִין in 115, which occurs (with termination ים) as an Aramaism in I Chr. iv. 22 (not 24. 22, as printed).

The plates with the facsimile sets of alphabets will be most valuable to those who are attracted by the history of writing. At first indeed little æsthetic pleasure is afforded by these Semitic scripts, but by degrees their vigour is felt, and when we pass on to the best examples of Hebrew coins we admit at once that, whatever grace may be due to foreign influence, the Hebrew artist had learnt to express a very peculiar and masculine beauty in his lettering. In deciding that the fine shekels and half-shekels at the top of plate X belong to the period of the first revolt, 66-70 A.D., not to the age of Simon Maccabæus, Mr. Cooke is certainly justified on technical grounds of style and fabric as well as by arguments from history. What a pathetic glimpse of the past is afforded by the observation that these coins appear in considerable numbers during the first three years, and then become rarer, until they cease altogether with the exceedingly rare shekel of the fifth year (April to August A.D. 70).

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Such side-lights on history are thrown again and again by the inscriptions, and hence appears the particular advantage in the plan of printing them with translations. Even those who know nothing of the languages in which they are composed may get a great deal of pleasure out of the book, and it will be a pity if it is not used widely; there is so much human interest in it. Sometimes the mode of dating points to the recovery of a people's independence. Very striking are the Palmyrene expressions of national pride and loyalty to the great Zenobia. One of these Palmyrene inscriptions quite startles us by the surprisingly modern appearance it presents in its English dress: 'To Aurelius Worod, knight and councillor, of Tadmor.' The classical reader will come gladly upon Micipsa and Pygmalion. The equivocal but emphatic words 'to the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra and to my Lord,' by which, if M. Clermont-Ganneau be right, Yathan-ba'al protested his loyalty in troubled times to the claims of King Ptolemy's eldest son, recalls a tombstone in a Hertfordshire church whereon the deceased gentleman is styled 'Master of the horse unto Quene Jane the most lawfull wyfe unto the aforsaid Kinge Henry the eight.' The text, however, is uncertain in this place, as also in 107, where it depends on the deciphering of two letters whether we believe the inscription to have been cut when 'the Arabs devastated the land,' or when (in a Sabbatical year) 'the poor of the land were allowed to glean the fruit.' The most recent examination of the rock itself tends to show that the Arab incursion was indeed fresh in the carver's memory.

Such an incursion was perhaps no infrequent occurrence, and the words illustrate the manners of the time rather than history strictly so called. There are many similar illustrations. We may read the words of the childless 'Abd-osir (16), who, like Absalom, reared up for himself a pillar in his life-time; or the names of travellers cut on the walls of the temple of Osiris at Abydos in the 4th century B.C., or the names and greetings which Nabataean clerks of the customs cut during the first four centuries A.D. on the Sinaitic rocks, when they wandered among the Bedouin and their camels at the pasture-grounds waiting for the caravans to arrive; the last of these is charming—'This is the horse which Sa'd-allâhi, son of A'lâ, drew.' Or we may classify the works of that notable family of sculptors, the sons of Abd-'obedath, at El-Ĥejra, and admire the loyal words which they so often cut, 'our lord Ĥarethath (Aretas), king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.'

Indeed, Mr. Cooke himself has claimed this wider circle of readers by prefixing to his work the motto from S. Chrysostom: 'Ἄλλ' ὁμῶς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν τῶν πλανηθέντων σωτηρίαν ἡνέσχετο διὰ τούτων θεραπευθῆναι,

δι' ὧν οἱ ἔξωθεν δαίμονας ἰθεράπευον, μικρὸν παραλλάξας αὐτά· ἵνα αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς συννηθείας ἀποσπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀγάγῃ φιλοσοφίαν. It is quite true that the supreme interest of these inscriptions is their religion. On almost every page we meet the gods, who, for the most part, are the kindly patrons of their worshippers, joined with them in close communion, pitying, aiding, and not unmindful of their upright life. A common formula among the Phoenicians was 'This (gift) such a one gives to such a god *because he heard his voice: may he bless!*' Ger-Melqarth (17) derives his name from the Phoenicians' habit of placing themselves under the protection of some deity, becoming his *guests*. The Palmyrene inscription 117 gives ܡܠܟ, *the Compassionate*, as the name of a god—'Shamash, and Allath, and Raḥām, the good gods.' Another, 133, speaks of 'the good god and bountiful,' where שׂכרָא, *bountiful*, means literally 'giving reward.' Mr. Cooke, following Lidzbarski, quotes from the Talmud 'who gives a good reward to the righteous;' we are reminded also of Heb. xi. 6, ὅτι ἔστιν καὶ τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν μισθαποδότης γίνεται. The former part of the same verse is recalled by 121, 'and he led his life peaceably (or honourably); on this account the god Yarḥi-bôl has borne witness to him.' References to the state of the dead are naturally frequent. There is almost a grim humour in the curse which Tabnith, king-priest of the Sidonians, lying in a stolen Egyptian coffin, invokes on any who shall disturb him, 'for that thing is an abomination to 'Ashtart.' How touching is this epitaph (saec. ii.-iii. A.D.): 'This monument is that of Soraiku, son of Rubat, the Palmyrene archer, century of Maximus, forty-five years old. Alas!'; how solemn, from these same Palmyrenes, is the repetition of 'This house of Eternity,' 'The vault of this eternal house'—the בֵּית עֶלְמוֹ of Qoh. xii 5.

Now and again we are carried somewhat deeper into the mystery of faith, as Mr. Cooke is careful to point out:

'A broad comparison between this North-Semitic religion and the religion of the Old Testament shows clearly enough the depths and heights which it was possible for different peoples to reach who were bound closely together by race, by neighbourhood, and by a considerable stock of common ideas. It is the difference which polytheism and monotheism work out in their results. Nevertheless in the later periods we can trace, however faintly, something like a reaction from the prevailing polytheism in the worship of Ba'al of Heaven among the Phoenicians, and of the unnamed god "whose name is blessed for ever" among the Aramaeans of Palmyra; and out of the common stock of religious ideas there were some which did not altogether lie outside of the scheme of Divine revelation, and were capable of being adopted into the higher faith.'

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The series closes with a late Jewish inscription, written over the door of a ruined synagogue in Galilee. God is not mentioned, yet a religious spirit breathes from it which we have not found among the nations. 'Peace be upon this place and upon all the places of Israel! Yôseh the Levite, son of Levi, made this lintel. May a blessing come upon his works!'

*Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies.* By A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., D.D. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904.) Price 2s.

THIS little book represents Professor Sayce's latest attempt to show that the evidence of archæology has proved subversive of the results obtained by 'the so-called "Higher Criticism."' Had the book been written for scholars, who could have assessed it at its true value, a short notice of it would have sufficed; but, since it is intended to catch the eye of the popular reader, for whom the name of Sayce is a name with which to conjure, but who has no notion of the true character of the methods and results of historical criticism, it is necessary to review the volume at greater length than its small size would seem to warrant.

Professor Sayce commences by asserting that 'the higher criticism' is based simply upon the evidence of 'philology.' The philologist has mistaken his vocation. Overstepping his proper sphere—the interpretation of the text of the Old Testament—he ventures to theorize as to the date and authorship of the various books, and produces results which are purely theoretical, the subjective impressions of his own mind.

Over against this subjective theorizing of the philologist we set the concrete discoveries of the archæologist, and of course we do not hesitate for an instant as to their relative value.

'In dealing with the history of the past we are thus confronted with two utterly opposed methods, one objective, the other subjective; one resting on a basis of verifiable facts, the other on the unsupported and unsupportable assumptions of the modern scholar. The one is the method of archæology, the other of the so-called "higher criticism." Between the two the scientifically trained mind can have no hesitation in choosing (p. 17 sq.).

The objection to all this is that Professor Sayce's description of the methods of the 'higher criticism' is absolutely untrue. Higher criticism, as applied to the Old Testament, is essentially *historical*. It is based upon objective facts as concrete as any evidence which has been, or yet may be, unearthed by the spade of the archæologist.

The argument from philology, in so far as it is employed at all, is merely subsidiary, and comes in later as a relatively unimportant confirmation of a position already established upon an irrefragable basis of fact. Let us take the Pentateuch, with which Professor Sayce is mainly concerned. The objective facts upon which the critical theory of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch is based are the double and often diverse and contradictory narratives of the same events, the double explanation of proper names, and the existence of different law-codes containing laws which are mutually subversive, and which were therefore (as is confirmed by the account of Israel's history given in Judges, Samuel, Kings, &c.) plainly promulgated at very different periods of Israel's national life. It is evident that an argument which bases itself upon facts such as these is totally independent of any argument derived from philology, though the argument from literary style and phraseology may be confirmatory of historical evidence which points to diversity of authorship. To take, for example, the Creation narrative. The divergency in the order of creative acts between the narrative c. i.-ii. 4a and the narrative c. ii. 4b-25 is striking enough by itself to argue that the two accounts are derived from different sources. When we find further that the two narratives exhibit divergency in the choice of the names of God, c. i.-ii. 4a using *Elohim* ('God') while c. ii. 4b-25 speaks uniformly of *Yahwe-Elohim* ('The Lord God'), and also exhibit a very marked divergency in style and choice of words and phrases, we consider that the historical argument is confirmed by the philological, but is in no way dependent upon it. In the same way, the view that Israel's legal system as embodied in the Pentateuch is not an organic whole emanating directly from a single lawgiver, Moses, but embraces a series of codes promulgated at various stages during a period which covers the whole of Israel's national life, depends ultimately not upon diversity of literary style, still less upon the *a priori* assumption (which Professor Sayce persists in gratuitously fathering upon 'the higher critic') that the art of writing was unknown to and unpractised by Moses, but upon the stubborn fact that we find in the Pentateuch at least three distinct strata of legal enactments, the later containing laws which are subversive of laws contained in the earlier, and that, from the knowledge of Israel's history which we derive from the later historical books, we can mark with approximate accuracy the period during which each of these law-books was in force, and the circumstances which led to its promulgation. It is clear, therefore, that supposing that it were proved up to the hilt that the code of Khammu-rabi was in force in Palestine during the times of the

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Hebrew Patriarchs, and that there are traces of the observance of its enactments in the Book of Genesis (cf. pp. 67 *sqq.*), this would not avail in the slightest degree in explaining how we are to assign to one lawgiver enactments which are mutually contradictory, and which came into force by stages during the life of the nation.

But Professor Sayce has 'a very simple test which can be applied to the pretensions of the "higher critic,"' when he proceeds to analyze the Hebrew narratives and to distinguish the various documents which, according to the critical theory, have been welded together in the Pentateuch.

'In both England and France books have been published of late years which we know to have been the joint work of more than one writer. The novels of Besant and Rice and of Erckmann and Chatrian are familiar instances in point. They are written in languages which are both living, which embrace vast literatures, and with which we believe ourselves to be thoroughly acquainted. And yet there is no Englishman who would undertake to say where Besant ends and Rice begins in the novels which they wrote together, and no Frenchman who would venture to do so in the case of the two French novelists.'

*A fortiori*, therefore, it is absurd for a modern European scholar to profess to analyze the old Hebrew narratives into their component parts, and to attempt to fix the date of the hypothetical authors of the various documents. Here is an argument which Professor Sayce deems unanswerable. 'More than once,' he says, 'I have challenged the advocates of the "critical method" to meet it, but the challenge has never been accepted' (pp. 18 *sq.*).

The unprejudiced person might reasonably conclude that the reason for the silence of the critics in face of such a challenge was, not that they were beaten by the argument and wished to avoid exposure of their weakness, but because they thought such an argument too childish to call for any notice whatever. It may seem, perhaps, unkind to deprive Professor Sayce of his boast that no one has ever attempted to accept his challenge: but lest those who depend upon the Professor's light and leading should imagine that their champion held the field unopposed, we will venture to take up our sling and stone and go to meet him. The answer to the challenge is that Besant and Rice, in the case of each of their joint productions, were collaborators in a work for the success of which an organic unity was essential; in the effecting of their purpose they had the advantages of personal association, a common proprietorship in the plot of the story, and at the same time a carefully apportioned delimitation of the individual sphere of work, and full opportunity for the revision of one another's work and the assimilation of it to a

common standard. On the other hand, the authors of the different documents incorporated in the Pentateuch, so far from being friends and collaborators, were not even contemporaries. They were not aiming at producing a common history, nor was the later engaged in supplementing the work of the earlier, but each was producing an independent narrative of the same period, and, in many cases, of the same events. Thus we find double or even treble accounts of single events, with frequent and important divergencies in detail such as could not have occurred had collaborators been at work in producing a unified history. Again, the main editor of the Pentateuch, who welded into one his various documents, did not proceed after the manner of a modern Western historian. As Professor Sayce himself warns us (p. 1), it is a mistake to attempt to criticize the books of the Old Testament 'as if they were the production of modern Europeans.' We are accustomed to find the historian putting, to a large extent, his own personality into his history, first mastering and assimilating his documents and other sources of information, and then giving out the result in his own words and coloured by his own point of view. The aim of the Hebrew editor was to *compile from* his sources rather than to digest them. He was content to quote the *ipsissima verba* of earlier writers. In the effort to secure as much detail as possible from more than one account of the same series of events, it seems not usually to have occurred to his mind that it was desirable to smooth away or reconcile points which to the Western mind present themselves as the most obvious of discrepancies. This is no mere theory as to the method adopted by the editors of earlier sources embodied in the Hebrew books. It can be proved to demonstration in the case of such a work as the Books of Chronicles. The editor of Chronicles seems to have had at his disposal certain sources with which we are otherwise unacquainted, but his main sources were the older historical books as known to us, because he incorporates whole sections of Samuel and Kings straight into his narrative, in just the same way as we must assume the editor of the Pentateuch to have done with *his* sources.

So much by way of meeting Professor Sayce's unanswered challenge. But there is another point advanced (p. 20) by the Professor in refutation of the documentary hypothesis. The Biblical account of the Deluge is, according to critics, an instance of compilation from different sources. This account is generally acknowledged to be dependent upon the Chaldean epic of Gilgames. But

'when we compare this story with the account in Genesis, we find that it agrees not only with the so-called Elohist version, but with the so-called

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Yahvistic version as well. It thus presupposes an account of the Deluge in which the "Elohistic" and "Yahvistic" elements were already combined together. And since it was written some centuries before the birth of Moses, there are only two ways of accounting for the fact, if the narrative in Genesis is really a composite one. Either the Babylonian poet had before him the present text of Genesis, or else the "Elohistic" and "Yahvistic" must have copied the Babylonian story on the mutual understanding that the one should insert what the other omitted. There is no third alternative.'

With Professor Sayce's leave we will produce a third. The fact that the Gilgames epic agrees with both the Hebrew narratives argues that both Hebrew narratives were dependent upon traditions which went back ultimately to one common original; the fact (unmentioned by Professor Sayce) that the Hebrew narratives contain discrepant accounts of the same facts, *e.g.* the duration of the Flood (the one—a year and ten days; the other—sixty-one days), and the number of animals of each kind preserved in the ark (vi. 18–22, one pair of every kind of animal; vii. 1–5, seven pairs of clean animals and one pair of unclean), argues that each narrative possessed its tradition marked by special and distinctive characteristics.

Space forbids us to extend this review, yet we cannot close without reference to the monstrous misstatements at the beginning of Chapter IV. which deals with Genesis xiv. Here Professor Sayce attributes to Professor Nöldeke statements not one of which is, as a matter of fact, made by him in his article to which reference is given; and we challenge Professor Sayce to prove them so made, quoting in each case Nöldeke's *ipsissima verba*. All that archæology has added in elucidation of Genesis xiv. since Nöldeke wrote in 1869 is to confirm the historical existence of two of the four kings mentioned in verse 1 (Amraphel and Arioch), and possibly of the other two, and their contemporaneousness (a possibility expressly contemplated by Nöldeke), and to show that Amraphel exercised a suzerainty extending over the land of Canaan. How these facts can be said to *prove* the authenticity of Genesis xiv. is scarcely clear. For a judicious summary of the evidence of the monuments as bearing on the narrative, and the difficulties which lie in the way of acceptance of its historical accuracy, the reader cannot do better than to refer to Dr. Driver's new commentary on Genesis, pp. 171–173, xlix.–liii.

*Sacred Sites of the Gospels.* By W. SANDAY, D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.) Price 13s. 6d. net.

DR. SANDAY has undertaken to write a Life of our Lord, and, wishing to lighten his forthcoming work of a certain amount of topo-

graphical matter, has published his views on the sacred sites of the Gospels in a separate volume. An interesting opening chapter on the external aspect of Palestine in the time of Christ is followed by a discussion of the evidence available for the identification of certain sites outside and inside Jerusalem, and remarks upon some recent literature connected with the subject. The book is illustrated with maps, plans, and more than fifty well-selected photographs of places in Palestine. There are also a perspective view of ancient Jerusalem, and a plan and sections of the Temple of Herod, which have been prepared by Mr. Paul Waterhouse, who explains, in a short chapter, the details of his reconstruction.

The arguments for and against the proposed identifications of sacred sites are fairly stated. Dr. Sanday brings forward some new points, and gives prominence to others not previously considered. His conclusions are generally sound and always interesting, but they cannot in all cases be accepted as final. In one instance he has already registered a change of opinion and acknowledged, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, that his first impression that Capernaum was at Khân Minyeh had given way to the arguments in favour of Tell Hûm. Space forbids a full discussion of Dr. Sanday's views, but attention may be drawn to certain statements which appear to have been based upon inaccurate or insufficient information.

There is no 'cliff that falls sheer almost into the lake' (of Galilee, p. 27), either near Kersa, or at any other point on the eastern shore. The true nature of the ground, referred to in connexion with the Gadarene demoniac and the herd of swine, is described in the *Recovery of Jerusalem* and Macgregor's *Rob Roy on the Jordan*. Jacob's Well is not 'a cistern to hold rain-water' (pp. 31, 32), but a deep well, like any ordinary well in England, sunk through the alluvial soil, and probably through several of the limestone beds beneath it. The well is described in the *Recovery of Jerusalem* by Major Anderson, who made a descent in 1866, and found the depth seventy-five feet, or thirty feet less than it is said to have been in the seventeenth century. The present owners find it more convenient and economical to bring water down, through a pipe, from a neighbouring spring, but this does not make a well a cistern. There can be no reasonable doubt as to the spring which, according to Josephus, watered the plain of Gennesareth, and was called Capharnaum (p. 44). The large spring at et-Tâbigha is the only one in the vicinity with a sufficient head of water to irrigate the plain. In 1865 the aqueduct which carried the water could be traced from the spring to the rock-hewn channel above Khân Minyeh, and thence for a considerable distance along the hillside above the

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plain. It is by no means certain that Khân Minyeh was 'a stage on the great caravan route from Damascus to Jerusalem' (pp. 46, 47) in the time of Christ. That route may have passed through Gadara and Bethshian to the plain of Esdraelon. There seems, too, no 'obvious reason' for placing the toll-house at Khân Minyeh instead of at the Jordan bridge, which all caravans on the road would be obliged to cross.

Two pools, not one (p. 55), were found near the church of St. Anne. They are 'twin pools,' constructed side by side, but as one underlies Moslem property it cannot be excavated. The tradition which identifies this spot with Bethesda is older than the twelfth century. It goes back to Byzantine times, and votive offerings that were found during the excavations seem to point to a belief that the waters possessed healing properties. The view that the five rock-hewn piers represent the five porches of Bethesda is obviously wrong. There is some evidence to show that the twin pools in the ditch of the Antonia, so far as they are rock-hewn, were made at the same time as the ditch, and not after it 'had been partially filled up' (p. 56). The covering vaults, like the 'Ecce Homo Arch' close by, are probably relics of the Aelia of Hadrian.

General Gordon was not attracted 'by the general outline of the hill' (p. 69) which he identified with Calvary. He distinctly repudiated the idea, and said that it was the resemblance of a contour on the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem to a skull which first attracted his attention to the spot. The 'Garden Tomb' is cut in the face of one of the scarps or cliffs of the principal quarry of Jerusalem, which has naturally changed greatly in extent and appearance since the time of Christ. The tomb is distinctly Christian, and has not yet been accepted by any competent authority as a genuine Jewish tomb.

There is no pool with pillars and masonry some sixty-six feet below the surface at the Hammâm esh-Shifa, as Furrer apparently suggests (p. 93) in identifying it with Bethesda. The identification of Aenon with Ain Farah, near Jerusalem, is not a new suggestion (pp. 94, 95). It was proposed long ago by Dr. Barclay in his *City of the Great King*, and by Mr. Hepworth Dixon. There is nothing to recommend it but the existence of a good spring.

Dr. Sanday unhesitatingly accepts the tradition which places the Coenaculum at the spot now occupied by 'David's tomb'; but even here all is not certain. From the destruction of the city by Titus until the insurrection under Hadrian, the western hill was a Roman permanent camp, the limits of which are unknown. No church could have been built inside the camp, which may have

extended southward to the old city wall. There is also a tradition of the Syrian Church which cannot be overlooked, that the house of the mother of Mark was elsewhere.

In his restoration of the plan of the Temple of Herod, Mr. Waterhouse throws over Josephus, the only writer who has described the building with a full personal knowledge of all its details. Josephus says twice that the temple (*hieron*) was a square, twice that each of its sides measured a stadium (600 feet), and once that the 'Royal Cloister,' on the south side, was a stadium in length. He certainly knew what he was writing about, and there is no apparent reason why he should have given wrong dimensions for a remarkable building which was well known to many of those who were alive when he wrote. It is impossible to believe that Josephus would have described the temple as being a square of 600 feet if it had occupied, as Mr. Waterhouse suggests, an irregular quadrangular area, with sides of approximately 920, 1,020, 1,080 and 1,130 feet, and only one right angle.

*Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.* By

H. V. HILPRECHT, with the co-operation of Drs. BENZINGER, HOMMEL, JENSEN, and STEINDORFF. (Edinburgh : T. and T. CLARK, 1903.) Price 12s. 6d.

THIS history of exploration in Bible lands has been written by well-known and well-qualified German authorities for British and American readers. It is edited by Dr. Hilprecht, the distinguished Assyriologist, who is Clark Research Professor of Assyriology and Scientific Director of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Philadelphia.

Dr. Hilprecht has reserved for himself that portion of the work which relates to Assyria and Babylonia, and this fills 578 out of 793 pages. In the first half of his contribution (288 pages), he gives a clear, methodical, and complete account of exploration in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris up to the year 1888. But, in criticizing the methods of Layard and others, he hardly makes sufficient allowance for the difficulties and even dangers which attended exploration in the second quarter of last century, and for the conditions under which they carried out their excavations. The last half deals with the exploration of the mounds at Nuffar (Nippur) for the University of Philadelphia, by expeditions under Dr. Peters, Mr. Haynes, and Dr. Hilprecht. The space devoted to the excavations at this place seems out of proportion to their importance, and the record of them is in one respect painful reading. Dr. Hilprecht's violent attack upon the methods and views of Dr. Peters, with whom he was associated during the first expedition, and of Mr.

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Haynes, a member of his own staff during the fourth expedition, is neither necessary nor relevant, and betrays an animus which should have been entirely wanting in a work of this kind.

The very valuable, and in some respects unique, results of the exploration of Nippur can only be briefly noticed here. Those of the *first* expedition, under Dr. Peters (1888-89) included an accurate survey of the site, the discovery of a Parthian palace, and 'the unearthing of more than 2,000 cuneiform inscriptions, representing the principal periods of Babylonian history.' The *second*, also under Dr. Peters (1889-90), explored the upper strata of the famous sanctuary of Bêl, 'discovered important Cassite archives, and acquired about 8,000 tablets of the second and third pre-Christian millenniums.' The *third*, under Mr. Haynes (1893-96), gathered 'no less than 21,000 cuneiform inscriptions, largely fragmentary,' and 'discovered the first well-preserved brick arch of pre-Sargonic times (about 4000 B.C.) . . . the large torso of an inscribed statue in dolerite of the period of Gudea, and over 500 vase fragments of the earliest rulers of the country.' The *fourth* expedition, under the writer (1889-1900), was in his opinion 'the most successful of all.' It 'explored the Parthian palace completely,' examined over 1,000 graves, 'definitely located the famous temple library of Nippur,' and uncovered the votive table of Narâm-Sin, a large dolerite vase of Gudea, and some 23,000 tablets and fragments. It also ascertained the precise character of the sanctuary of Bêl, and proved that the *ziggurra*t was 'a creation of the earliest Samarian population.'

Dr. Benzinger's contribution, 'Researches in Palestine' (pp. 34), is wanting in completeness and is the least satisfactory. Much of it deals with topographical problems, such as the position of Zion and the course of the ancient walls of Jerusalem; and the names of many who have done good work in connexion with the exploration of Palestine are omitted. For instance, Lynch, de Saulcy, de Vogüé, the Duc de Luynes, Lartet, Clermont-Ganneau, Tristram, and Palmer are not mentioned. There is no notice of the French surveys in the Lebanon and Galilee, or of the British survey of Jerusalem which led to the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund; and, while the recently established American and German schools of archæology at Jerusalem are referred to, the French École Biblique de St. Étienne, which for many years has done such good work, is completely ignored.

Dr. Steindorff's paper, 'Excavations in Egypt' (68 pp.), is a clear and excellent sketch of the most important discoveries which have been made in that country, and does full justice to everyone.

'Explorations in Arabia' (62 pp.) are described by Dr. Hommel,

than whom there is no higher authority. The paper is divided into three parts, and is full and suggestive throughout. Part I. is geographical and historical. Part II. deals with the inscriptions that have been found east of the Land of Midian, especially in Southern Arabia, and with the valuable information contained in the cuneiform records of Assyria and Babylonia. In Part III., which is perhaps the most interesting and suggestive, the writer discusses the many points of contact between the Old Testament and pre-Islamic Arabia.

Dr. Jensen contributes a paper (pp. 41) on 'The So-called Hittites and their Inscriptions,' in which he describes the known inscriptions, mentions the places at which they have been found, seeks to determine their chronology, and continues his previous efforts to decipher them. Dr. Jensen's theory is that 'the Hittites are the ancestors of the modern Armenians,' and this is supported by the likeness of the Armenian peasant to the figures on the Hittite reliefs. He is also of opinion that the Hittite language is Armenian, or, better, Old Armenian, and that 'the great mass of the inscriptions belongs to a period between 1000 B.C. and 600 B.C., allowing perhaps a little on either side.'

The volume is well printed and illustrated by some 200 excellent reproductions of drawings and photographs, but the style of the maps leaves much to be desired. The general map in a pocket at the end is quite unworthy of the book.

## II. PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

*The Pathway to Reality.* Stage the Second. By the Right Hon. R. B. HALDANE, M.P., K.C. (London: John Murray, 1904.) Price 10s. 6d. net.

IN the second series of his Gifford Lectures, Mr. Haldane passes on from the statement of his general theory of the nature of ultimate reality to grapple at closer quarters with the great problems of philosophical theology, God, freedom, and immortality. The discussion is still characterized by the same remarkable ease and lucidity of style which distinguished the earlier lectures, while the interest of the matter is in some respects greater. If we were to criticize the previous volume, we should be inclined to say that it struck us as the application to a wide and varied range of experience, by a mind of singular vigour and capacity, of principles which had been adopted on good grounds once for all, rather than as a fresh thinking-out of the principles themselves. This would very likely have been an inadequate judgment upon that volume; but in the case of its sequel there is no temptation to make a like criticism; the freshness and originality of the thought is evident on every



page; though here, too, no less than before, Mr. Haldane comes forward as the disciple and exponent of the two great thinkers whom he regards as the masters of idealism—Aristotle and Hegel. This is not the place for discussing how far Mr. Haldane's view of the former of these philosophers is true to the facts; we will content ourselves with saying that, in our judgment, the occurrence in Aristotle's writings of thoughts which, if worked out, would lead, or even which, when worked out, have led to absolute idealism, does not justify us in attributing to Aristotle himself a doctrine which we are sure that an impartial consideration of his whole position will show him never to have entertained.

The reader of Mr. Haldane's earlier volume will already be familiar with his doctrine of 'aspects.' The mathematician, the chemist, the biologist, the moralist, the artist, the religious worshipper, see the same world under different 'aspects.' To the mathematician, as such, there is much of what the man concerned with another and 'higher' aspect finds in his experience of the world, which does not present itself at all; but the mathematician has no right on that account to give the lie to his neighbour; and so on with the rest. But here it seems necessary to distinguish. That versatile athlete and author, Mr. Eustace Miles, has somewhere complained that he has heard many lectures on mathematics which made no mention of religion or of health. In making this complaint he seems to have failed to realize the Aristotelian idea of the educated man, who knows what to expect in every department of inquiry, and neither tolerates mere persuasiveness in the mathematician nor demands demonstration from the professor of oratory. Yet, after all, the mathematical aspect of the world has of course much to do with that which confronts the student of medicine. As the same Aristotle rightly taught, health depends upon a tempering of elements in a certain proportion which is, ideally at least, capable of expression in a mathematical formula. But this fact is, no doubt, irrelevant to the mathematician's own more abstract inquiries. The connexion between these two 'aspects' is easily intelligible, and gives rise to no general problem of their relation. But this is not always so with the connexion of different 'aspects.' There seems to be a real difficulty, for example, in understanding how the religious view of the world can be carried out without contradicting the scientific view on its own plane. We do not affirm that this contradiction exists; but there is certainly at least an apparent contradiction here, which gives rise to the problem; and this problem the mere statement that the theologian and the man of science are dealing with different 'aspects' may put by, but does not solve. Now it is just

in regard to this problem that we find ourselves disposed to criticize Mr. Haldane. Our criticism of his theology will indeed be a criticism, so to speak, from within. That God must be for the religious consciousness (if we do but think out what it implies) nothing less than the ultimate reality; that no attempt to cut the knot and save the 'personality' of God at the expense of His 'infinity' can do anything but leave us with an object of worship which is less than what we always really mean by 'God'; that no view of religion (and especially of Christian religion) can be satisfactory in which the divine mind is cut off from the human, or the human mind excluded from the divine: all these positions, which are taken up by Mr. Haldane, seem to us to be essential to any theology which can hope to justify itself at the bar of reason and experience. If in some cases we shall be found to raise difficulties not unlike those raised by theologians to whom these positions would be unacceptable, it will not be because we desire to separate ourselves from Mr. Haldane, so far as his fundamental convictions are concerned, but because we see in his statement difficulties, arising on the principles of his own philosophy, which appear to us to require fuller consideration than he has given them in the work now before us.

The first of these difficulties concerns the self-consciousness of God. One could have wished from Mr. Haldane a further discussion of this subject. 'He must,' says Mr. Haldane (p. 106), speaking of God, 'be *in some sense* self-conscious.' But in what sense? Is the divine self-consciousness actual only in the religious consciousness of men or of other finite beings (if such there be) that are, like men, capable of religion? We say 'in the religious consciousness,' for, of course, on Mr. Haldane's principles, the ordinary self-consciousness of men is not the absolute self-consciousness; but in religion, where man knows himself as one with God ('we in Him and He in us'), he may be said to be conscious of God with a consciousness which is no other than God's consciousness of Himself. That this is the implication of the religious consciousness is surely true. When Spinoza says that our love toward God is part of the infinite love with which God loves Himself, he speaks in full accordance with the thought of the First Epistle of St. John, the thought that in the experience of Christian love we are actually living a life which is no less than the essential life of God Himself, a thought which also lies behind the historical development of the doctrine of the Trinity. The life of which, in his best moments, the religious man is conscious is God's life; thus to St. Paul, after his conversion, it is not he that lives, but Christ that liveth in him (Gal. ii. 20); thus we are said (Eph. v. 30) to be members of the Lord's body, of His

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flesh and of His bones. Such expressions are certainly in a sense metaphorical, but they describe a reality of experience which this kind of metaphor alone can approximately express. It is necessary to insist upon this because there are theologians who, strangely enough, think that a genuine theism is interested in emptying such phrases, natural and inevitable as they seem to be in those who have penetrated deeply into the religious life, of all but a merely figurative or rhetorical significance.

But, as we said, a difficulty remains behind. The reality of God, which for an idealist like Mr. Haldane can only be the reality of self-conscious mind, can hardly be found in the religious consciousness of any number of beings like ourselves; there would be something contradictory in supposing this, for that very religious experience in which we have the evidence of the divine Presence is an experience of unity with God, an experience of divine worship; and then what is that with which (if the experience is not illusory) we are united—what is that which we worship? It cannot have no reality beyond that of our sentiment of union or of worship, although we readily admit that neither can it be a mere external thing or object, which is all the same, just as it was before and will be afterwards, whether we worship it and are at one with it or no: so that the change in us is, as it were, indifferent to it. Did no appreciative consciousness enjoy the beauty of the world, how could the world be truly called beautiful? Yet the beauty of the world is not merely our feeling of the beauty, for then the feeling itself would belie itself. It is insignificant that when an able thinker, Dr. McTaggart, expressly identifies the Absolute with a number of spirits united in a society, the unity of which is, though real, yet so far less real than its multiplicity that the unity does not exist for itself as it does for the many, nor do the many exist for it as it exists for them, we find that he recognizes no need of divine worship in our nature, and does not refuse to be called an atheist, since he believes in no God who can be worshipped, God being for him no more than a society of spirits such as ourselves. Mr. Haldane, who does not deny that worship is a human need, cannot without doing violence to his own principles, and, as a matter of fact, does not content himself with Dr. McTaggart's God, who is, like a college (it is Dr. McTaggart's own comparison), a spiritual but not a personal unity. But he leaves us with less guidance than we could wish on this question of the nature of the divine self-consciousness.

A similar complaint we feel inclined to make with regard to Mr. Haldane's treatment—interesting as it is—of the closely connected problem of individual human immortality. It will be

instructive here also to contrast Mr. Haldane's position with that of Dr. McTaggart, especially as both writers claim to be exponents of the thought of Hegel. In respect of the self-consciousness of God, we saw that Mr. Haldane affirmed it '*in some sense*' (though we found a difficulty in understanding exactly in what sense), while Dr. McTaggart denied it altogether. In respect of individual immortality, Dr. McTaggart affirms it unequivocally, while, as we shall see, it is difficult to be sure that Mr. Haldane's theory leaves any room for it. They may even be said to approach the question from opposite sides. Dr. McTaggart's universe is 'a world of immortals without a God.' Mr. Haldane adopts as his own (p. 223) a saying of the present Master of Balliol, that the religious man believes in a future life for himself and for mankind because he believes in God, and does not believe in God because he believes in a future life or in another world. Here we are far more nearly in agreement with Dr. Caird and Mr. Haldane than with Dr. McTaggart; yet here, too, as in the matter of the divine self-consciousness, we could have wished for a fuller consideration of certain difficulties which present themselves. In what consciousness, we may ask, is that eternal life realized, in the apprehension whereof death is known to be unreal? In *some* consciousness it must be realized, for how else can it be, for an idealist of Mr. Haldane's school, real in any sense? It cannot be supposed, again (and such subjectivism would be far from Mr. Haldane), that it is only realized in the consciousness of this, that, and the other religious man who may attain no such knowledge; on the other hand, it will not do to say that it is realized in the divine consciousness as apart from that of men, for it would surely be a highly abstract view which would consider the Supreme Good as fully realized unless it were realized also for each of us who are capable of desiring it. If we say that it is *there*, realized, though we do not know it, this, too, cannot be a finally adequate way of putting it, though it may, in a provisional manner of speaking, be true enough. Nor is it a sufficient answer to this to say that I cannot realize it so long as I hold myself apart from God, and abide in my separateness; that is quite true, but if I am *never* consciously united to God (and many men never are), I am not fully united to God at all, and God is not 'all in all.' This might be met if Mr. Haldane were prepared to make the individuality of each of us merely illusory; but this we do not think he intends. True, our individuality is not for him the whole truth and nothing but the truth; but he does not suppose that the distinctions which exist between individuals are no part of the riches of the absolute experience. Hence the divine consciousness can only be fully realized if each self-conscious individual is aware of *himself* as one with God.

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Nor are our difficulties removed, or even much abated, by the consideration that 'the understanding can never solve the problem of another life, for it is hampered by a dilemma based on the finality of the idea of duration. A direct presentation of the unreality of death can never be accomplished in our picture world, and yet the recognition of that unreality is necessitated' (p. xxvi). For, though time be appearance only, and not ultimate reality, yet a question raised on the plane of temporal existence should have an answer on that plane. Nor does Mr. Haldane, although he follows the greatest philosophers of all ages in denying that the ultimate reality itself can be supposed to lapse in time, desire to refuse to time all significance in the ultimate reality. 'For the mind of God,' he says (p. 115), 'the world must appear as no mere *simultaneum*, no mere negation of change, but as the time series summed up and comprehended in the fullest grasp of thought.' Now it is hard to see how we are to help thinking in some such way as this. Granted that, here and now, when we realize our unity with God and with our fellows in Him, death no longer seems to us to be really an end or limit of our existence (*sentimus et experimur nos immortales esse*); yet, after my death, how shall I live? If only in the memories of those who are left, or in the material, spiritual, and social results of my actions, surely there is, or may be, loss in this? It is probably true that many, in speaking of immortality, think too exclusively of what we call individual personalities, in abstraction from the interests, the occupations, the institutions, which give those individual personalities content and significance, and yet the continuance of which 'in another world' is often impossible to picture in the imagination. But in the case of all things which perish, and whose value yet does not seem to be as transitory as their 'existence,' a consistent idealism cannot be content with their mere passing away. We venture to think that such discontent is not merely slavery to the *Vorstellung*. This may be illustrated by distinguishing the question we are now asking from two others. To ask what will happen in the future to the principle of contradiction or the date of the battle of Waterloo, to the love of Romeo or the irresolution of Hamlet, is plainly absurd. Again, while it would not be meaningless to ask what will happen to my doubt whether to go to London by a morning or by an afternoon train, we see at once that when this doubt is ended by decision, no one wants to have more of it: it has served its purpose, it has wholly fulfilled itself, and nothing seems lost to the world in its cessation. In the first case, the temporal question is irrelevant; in the second, it admits of a reply on the temporal plane. But when I ask what will happen to me after death, or what has now happened

to my dead friend, these questions are not meaningless, nor are they satisfied by saying that one's work will be done, that the life of the dead is over, and fulfilled itself in passing away to make room for the succeeding stage of the process in the course of which it occurred as a moment and a phase. This last is just what is often, at any rate, so hard to believe; and hard with a difficulty not merely that of escaping from the tyranny of the *Vorstellung*, 'the picture-world' of Mr. Haldane; the difficulty arises from the sense of the unexhausted worth of what is lost. Again, we think this difficulty should not be arbitrarily limited to the case of individual personalities. It is a thought to which Browning in particular has given frequent expression that there are all manner of moods, states, experiences which present a like problem. Even of a speculative doubt it is possible to feel that one has lost something in emerging from it into certainty. 'Where are the snows of yester-year?' is a question which we feel was worth the poet's asking; and the humour of Leland's famous verses about Hans Breitmann lies in the inclusion in that question of something trivial, whose passing away is natural and satisfactory, along with that which, at any rate, symbolizes what is not so lightly dismissed as over and done with. Mr. Haldane would, no doubt, agree that Hegelian philosophy can least of all afford to dismiss Time cavalierly; for it was surely one of Hegel's greatest achievements to have given to the temporal process of history a standing, as it were, in the ultimate ideal meaning of the world, such as is conceded to it neither in the philosophy of Kant which went before nor in that of Schopenhauer which came after.

There are one or two slips which need correction in another edition. On p. 59, Mr. Haldane doubtless does not intend to tell us what Hegel thought of a controversy which arose after his death; and on p. 214, 'physical' is a misprint for 'psychical.'

*Individual Immortality.* By E. M. CAILLARD. (London : J. Murray, 1903.) Price 3s. 6d. net.

THOSE who have read Miss Caillard's essays in the *Contemporary Review* will welcome them in a completed and permanent form. She begins with showing the importance of her topic. The hope of a future individual life is no more selfish than a high estimate of the present life. The value of life as a whole is affected as we restrict it to seventy years of incompleteness or look for its perpetual duration and development. If, as Nietzsche teaches, the main purpose of life is self-realization, man (alone perhaps in this world) dies with the sense that much in him is not yet realized (p. 14). Unless the

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process which has produced man and his sense of individuality is to end in futility we have here not indeed a proof of a future life, but a suggestion of it (p. 34). Science creates no bias against a future life, for science deals with that which is subject to time and space, and has nothing to say for or against what may lie outside those conditions. Philosophy, which honours science yet supplements her, observes that man has faculties which surpass time and space: memory, for instance, which not only records the past but revivifies it as a present energy, and abstract thought, which deals with that which has no *now* or *here* (p. 50). That which transcends time and space can hardly be limited by them. Moreover, philosophy, noting the uniqueness of everything, so that no one thing can take the precise place of another, and that this uniqueness becomes more marked in the higher ranges of evolution, is loth to imagine that the individual is but a bubble on the stream of phenomena (p. 60). And ethics, which discovers that the most important aspect of individuality is character, is still more unwilling to suppose that the moral individual, whatever its failure in time, can ultimately fail to correspond to the Divine ideal (p. 96).

What science can neither affirm nor deny, what philosophy suggests, what ethics infers from apparent failure, that religion asserts. If there be a God who is in moral relation to His creatures, the failure and annihilation of any individual would be so far a failure of God; for no other thing could fill to Him the place of that which has perished. We should have been glad if the author had plainly stated that future life is only reasonable as a corollary of the existence and goodness of God. Man persists not in virtue of any imperishable property of his own, but because he is upheld by God. 'Immortality' is spoken of in the New Testament as the possession of God alone (1 Tim. vi. 16), and as a future gift to man (1 Cor. xv. 53). The Christian religion does not speak of death as that from which man, or any part of him, is exempt, but as part of his experience—a mode of life and not its negation.

We assent to Miss Caillard's suggestion that the chief cause of indifference to the future life is not any scientific difficulty, but a lack of interest in that life as popularly represented (p. 111). A strenuous man does not care about a life of perpetual rest or perpetual psalm-singing. The painter will desire a wall to fresco in the New Jerusalem, and the statesman will be attracted by the prospect of ruling over ten cities. When we have learned that all our faculties are given by God to be used for His glory, the hope that every faculty will have its scope and development hereafter will make the future life intelligible and attractive to us.

## III. ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

*A Short History of the Ancient Peoples.* By ROBINSON SOUTTAR, D.C.L., with an Introduction by the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.) Price 12s.

A CONNECTED and general history, either of the whole world or of great portions of it, is one of the most striking wants in English literature. We are too apt to confine our attention to selected portions. We study two or three centuries of Greek or Roman or Hebrew history. The whole, of which this is but a small part, is neglected, with what loss to our general sense of proportion only those know who have had occasion to test the ordinary conception of historical perspective. There is a unity in the life of the human race, which can only be expounded when a single writer deals with large parts of it as a connected narrative. We gladly welcome, therefore, any attempt, however imperfect, to fill this void; in our appreciation of the excellence of the aim we shall be willing to overlook many defects in the execution.

Mr. Souttar is not without some important qualifications for the great task which he has undertaken. He writes in a very agreeable style, simple, easy and correct. This is a matter of the first importance. A book of this kind is written to be read, and it is possible to read it with pleasure. The author sometimes lapses into the trivial, and occasionally adopts a tone which makes one feel that he is writing rather for children than for adults, while sometimes one comes across a phrase which is merely the worst kind of journalism, as when he tells us that in the Athenian Assembly 'the meetings were conducted on modern lines, speakers being hissed and cheered in the usual way'—a statement to which it is difficult to attach any meaning. But these lapses are rare, and the general level of style is a high one. If we turn to the matter, we find also certain important elementary qualities present. Where we have tested it, the narrative seems to be almost always correct in such matters as the proper use of names and technical terms, the most severe test of scholarly work. We are not disposed to quarrel with the writer for using the traditional spelling for the names of Oriental rulers and the Biblical characters. It is probably only an oversight which makes him speak of Augustus as Octavius.

It is in the larger matters of the arrangement of the narrative and the general attitude which he takes to his subject that Mr. Souttar disappoints us. The book is not really a history of the ancient world as a whole at all. It is rather, as the title states, a history of the ancient peoples; e.g. the author begins with Egypt,

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and takes the history of Egypt down to the annexation by Rome. Then in turn he deals with each one of the more important ancient peoples, the Babylonians, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans. It is not necessary to point out the inconveniences of this plan. It causes endless repetition. We have two narratives of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, by the Macedonians and the Romans. We have two accounts of the Punic wars and two accounts of the fall of Persia. In many cases there is, as there must inevitably be, verbal repetition, and where space is so important this is a very serious evil. Let us take the battle of Cannae; we have two accounts of it, one in the section on Carthage and one in the section on Rome, each nearly a page in length. How useless is this! But on the plan which the writer has adopted it is unavoidable. This is, however, not the worst. The result of such a method of arrangement is that there is no continued narrative at all. It is not the history of the ancient world in one book, it is a series of histories of certain nations, which as a matter of fact are published in one volume but which could equally well, nay even better, have appeared as quite separate and independent works. It is a story which has no beginning and no end. We never see the great course of history, the rise and growth of civilization, and the gradual absorption of all the currents of life in the Roman Empire. Again, while the method brings about these constant repetitions, it also causes omissions which are equally serious; e.g. the whole of the Macedonian period is, as is nearly always the case in English books, passed over with no serious consideration. Six pages only are given to the entire history of the Macedonian Empire from the death of Alexander to the final conquest by Rome. But it is just on these intermediate periods that we look for information in a work of general history.

One reason of this fault of arrangement seems to be that Mr. Souttar is apparently unable to get beyond his authorities, and they appear to be the simplest and most common. This is the real test of an historian. He must not simply repeat what he finds in his books, but go to them for the answer to definite questions which he requires in order to carry out the plan he has set himself. The whole treatment of Greek history, for example, is but a paraphrase of Grote. Grote begins with an analysis of Greek legend which when it was written was epoch-making. It has done its work; a more modern historian would for that very reason ignore the legends and begin from the monuments; but Mr. Souttar slavishly follows him. Dr. Sayce leads us in the introduction to expect that we shall find the result of the latest researches; we are disappointed. Not only is there no reference to the discoveries which have opened up a living Greece 1500 years before Christ, but not even the work of Dr.

Schliemann seems to be known to the writer. For him, as for Grote, Greek history begins in 776 B.C. Again and again the defect is seen. Grote in his History inserted a chapter on Socrates and the Sophists after the history of the Peloponnesian War, but left the later history of philosophy untouched, for that was to be the subject of a larger work. Mr. Souttar puts in the chapter on Socrates, but Plato and the later philosophers are ignored. Yet surely in political history the Stoics deserve a place as well as Socrates. It is the same in his judgments. Grote disliked and despised Alexander; Mr. Souttar follows suit. Mommsen, whom he follows in Roman history, places Cæsar on an unimagined pinnacle of greatness. Mr. Souttar does the same. In neither case do we feel that the judgment is part of a deliberate and reasoned conviction as to the nature of political virtue, nor do we find any appreciation of the great dynamic forces by which the history of the world has been governed. We do not wish an historian to obtrude on us his philosophy of history. We prefer to believe that he has one. It is our complaint that we lay down this book with a deep conviction that its author has none.

*Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. VIII.: *The French Revolution.* Edited by Dr. A. W. WARD, Dr. G. W. PROTHERO, and STANLEY LEATHES. (Cambridge: University Press, 1904.) Price 16s. net.

THERE are thirteen contributors to the latest volume of this monumental work. Old-fashioned people find it very hard to believe that the demand for vast masses of historical facts and of more or less hasty judgments, such as those herein contained, can possibly equal the supply of such matter which is being poured out so lavishly every day; while even the most hard-hearted cynic must pity the general editor (nay, the triple-headed general editor, which makes it worse) who has to drive a team of persons such as these thirteen. One suspects, in fact, that some of them are the legacy of Lord Acton; others the (probably wiser) choices of the present managers.

Now, among these thirteen, it seems to us that three-fourths at least have given in their contributions either because they were bullied into doing so, or because they must write 'pot-boilers.' Many of them—let us say half of them—would probably have been capable of writing some sort of *real* history of the French Revolution; but no, the demand of the age (or of the publishers of the age) is for the 'short-story' principle, for a collaboration which in the hands of our artistic French neighbours is often successful, but in England is too often either an instalment of the work which the author hopes some day to produce (he never does, by the way), or a *réchauffé* of some already published work. Even while we write we hear of two monumental histories of England, to be produced for the benefit of

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two publishers, in select periods, by various hands, probably by the same hands as have built up the *Cambridge Modern History*. Now let us consider the results of this method.

It is not merely the diversified standpoint of the various authors in their respective treatment of an event such as the French Revolution which is irritating. That is bad enough; e.g. when one passes from the brilliant sketchiness of Mr. Montague to the solid *résumé* of the best authorities so admirably given by Mr. Moreton-Macdonald, and from him, again, to the very short and inadequate treatment of the Directory by Mr. Fortescue; or when one contrasts the somewhat ponderous 'translations from the German' of Professor Lodge with the ludicrous repetition of all the old fables about Pitt's iniquity, conceived no doubt by Mr. Oscar Browning in some Pythagorean pre-existence, and handed down through successive incarnations of the same gentleman, to be reproduced, without a shadow of evidence, here. These matters are, we say, irritating enough; but it is the total want of any philosophical conception of the Revolution of which we complain. The wildest French Radical who is nowadays subsidised by the Paris *Commune* to make the worse appear the better cause, and who writes those vast quartos which are yearly inundating France, at least leaves one with the impression that he 'sees the thing whole.' We doubt if any of these writers, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Browning on the one side and Mr. Moreton-Macdonald on the other, has any real conception of the direction in which events were trending and of the bearing of the whole drama upon the subsequent history of the world; or, if the other writers have such a conception, they are either afraid to show it, or are so accustomed to *think in little pieces* that they cannot explain things on a big scale.

This is not for one moment to suggest that the contributions of the two gentlemen last mentioned are respectively the worst and best in the book. Mr. Macdonald's is good, but is far excelled in depth and reasoning by Mr. Willert's and Mr. Fisher's, and, if we were to be asked to select any contribution for special praise, it would, we think, be the last. Mr. Fisher has philosophy and reasoning power of no common order. He sees through Napoleon and Lucien, and Sieyès; and he is the first person to do in an English book real justice to Jourdan; the first to indicate clearly the attitude by which Bernadotte, as early as 1799, foreshadowed his future ambitious career. We can only hope that, should Mr. Fisher be a contributor to the ninth volume, he will show us Moreau in somewhat clearer colours. Among the more disappointing contributions to the book are those of Mr. Higgs on the finance both of the *Ancien Régime* and the

Revolution. One of the evils of the system of numerous contributors is the isolation of such a subject as this. For if we isolate the financial *gestion* of the various Assemblies, how are we to understand the attitude of the true Liberals such as Dupont de Nemours, in the Constituent, and how judge at their true value the wind-baggeries of Cambon? At the bottom of the mind of most of the contributors to the volume, and all through the mind of the special contributor on this subject, lies the old idea that the financial crisis was the cause of the Revolution; and, indeed, there is this justification for the view, that poor stupid Louis XVI. really believed it to be so when he summoned the States-General. But it is a little startling, in the face of M. René Stourm, to find the *grand livre* of Cambon of 1793, and the *faillite du Tiers-Consolidé* passed over with a mere mention among the other 'expedients' of the time. Again, how can a thoughtful reader isolate, as Mr. Dunn-Pattison in his praiseworthy little contribution (evidently written with some knowledge both of strategy and tactics, and largely based upon Chuquet's excellent monographs) is compelled to isolate the war of 1792-5? The thing is not to be done, except at the expense of overlapping with other contributors. It is, no doubt, somewhat different when we come to deal with a subject like the naval war; for the navy was so wholly the plaything of circumstances that the campaigns at sea had little effect on the course of events, either civil or military, which ensued on land; or with a subject like 'French Law in the Revolution,' so excellently treated by M. Paul Viollet, who takes as his guide M. Sagnac's celebrated work, *La Législation Civile de la Révolution*, and, in our estimation, improves upon his model. Again, the initial and concluding chapters, which deal with the philosophers who inaugurated and who hailed, both in France and other countries, the great upheaval, present a coherent picture and may well stand isolated. We must, indeed, award high praise to Mr. Willert's introduction. He has done inflexible if tardy justice to Rousseau, and very properly indicated how very much astonished that clever neurotic would have been if he had been in the gallery of the Jacobin Club on a field-night when Robespierre was quoting him. Mr. Willert's sketch of Voltaire, short as it is, deserves to be studied line by line and to be remembered when Mr. Morley's more elaborate volume is forgotten. He has attempted to rescue Morellet, the young favourite of Voltaire, from the limbo of forgetfulness; but we think he is slightly unjust to the Abbé Raynal, who was believed not only to have repented, but to have bitterly resented the 'purple patches' with which Diderot 'enlivened his work.'

Before closing we must give a definite illustration of the difficulties

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incident to collaboration, of which we complained above. From the very first meeting of the States-General Robespierre was a marked man, and the Jacobin Club one of the greatest powers in the land; but the Jacobin Club and Robespierre were so much more powerful during the Terror that we must suppose that Mr. Montague has been instructed to pass any adequate treatment of them on to his successor (not till p. 186 is there any mention of the Club; and not till p. 175 of Robespierre). But from the day of St. Cloud (April 1791) the closing months of the Constituent Assembly might be called, Homerically speaking, the 'acts of Robespierre'; and he is not even mentioned in connexion with them. Similarly, Sieyès was unquestionably not *pour rien* during the Terror; but Mr. Macdonald appears to have been told, 'hands off Sieyès! he belongs to your predecessor and successors.' One might perhaps be allowed to picture a good deal of private correspondence, not always of an amicable kind, between the various contributors, and between them and the general editor: e.g. 'Dear Mr. So-and-So,—I am pained to find that you omit in your excellent sketch of the years 179— all mention of the newspapers'; and the reply: 'Dear Mr. Such-an-one,—I was informed by the editors that this subject would be more suitably treated in your section'; and then perhaps Mr. So-and-so and Mr. Such-an-one have to remodel their contributions, and, being busy labourers in other fields, are sure to make a patchwork of it. And they do.

Finally, we cannot help considering the number of pages allotted to the various subjects strangely unequal. The Constituent, it is true, sat for only a little more than twenty-eight months, but it was unquestionably the greatest Assembly that ever sat in France. It contained the *élite* of the nation, and it accomplished, for good or evil, a work that can never be forgotten: it laid the permanent civil foundations of modern France; yet this Assembly is dismissed in sixty-five pages in a volume of 875; the Legislative, which sat for ten months, gets thirty pages, and the Convention, which sat a little over three years, gets eighty-eight, and even then is badly squeezed at the end. But in the history of these three Assemblies lay the French Revolution. It stands to reason that the merest outline of the facts can be given in such short space. But in the year of grace 1904 does anybody but a schoolboy cramming for a 'history prize' want a bare 'outline of the facts' of the Constituent, the Legislative, and the Convention? What we want is a scientific history of the French Revolution. Why does not Mr. Moreton-Macdonald (whose name, by the way, is new to us) devote ten solid years to doing it? Or, still better, why does not Mr. Fisher or Mr. Willert undertake the task?

*The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero.* By BERNARD W. HENDERSON, Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. (London: Methuen, 1903.) Price 10s. 6d. net.

So much has been said and written about Nero, either as the type of moral degradation or as the subject of a skilful attempt at paradoxical rehabilitation, that Mr. Henderson has done a real service by putting together the 'facts' of his life and reign. This volume contains an account of the Emperor's career, the authorities for the chief statements being given fully in notes; references to dissertations, whether by Mr. Henderson himself or by other modern writers, on various detached points, and a discussion of most of the points for which no satisfactory reference can be given; a valuable bibliography, practical indices, and useful plans and tables.

Mr. Henderson's work is very careful, and his views, though expressed in a style which is sometimes difficult to understand and occasionally recalls the methods of a popular newspaper, are generally well argued and eminently sensible. The estimate and criticism of Seneca, the treatment of Corbulo's campaigns, the discussion of the conspiracies of Piso and Vindex, may be mentioned as instances of subjects which Mr. Henderson has handled in a partly novel way, and there is no book extant in English which gives the materials for a judgment on most of them in so convenient a form. He promises a more detailed discussion hereafter of our accounts of the revolt of Vindex, and its appearance will be looked for with much interest, since Galba's attitude seems to be better explained by Mr. Henderson than by Mommsen, Schiller, and others. Of the appendices, one deals with the ancient authorities, and will be found useful, if rather conventional: the second concerns the relations between Christianity and the Roman Government, and Mr. Henderson makes a praiseworthy effort to be fair to both sides. He discusses the well-known passage in Tacitus fully, and adds a valuable summary of the possible views as to the historical basis of the Apocalypse. His remarks on the persecution contain a vigorous criticism of Professor Ramsay, and his whole treatment of this part of the subject may be welcomed, both for its tone and for its judicious collection and examination of the material. It is, however, unfortunate that in forming his views on New Testament chronology Mr. Henderson appears to have paid insufficient attention to the dates advocated by Mr. C. H. Turner in his most valuable article on the Chronology of the New Testament in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

A short notice of so large a work as this can only commend it and call attention to its merits and the points on which it will give

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most help. But one general criticism may be allowed. Mr. Henderson disclaims the part of the apologist for Nero, but his book will be widely accepted as in one sense an apology. The author neither denies the charges brought against Nero's personal character nor defends him against them; he merely passes by them with the true remark that they are unsuitable for treatment in a general history. But throughout the greater part of his work he uses language which appears to attribute to Nero personally and not to his advisers, the general character of the administration, the choice of subordinates, and critical decisions at important moments. Many of us rather think of Nero as a lover of pleasure (we may well allow, with Mr. Henderson, his artistic appreciation to have been genuine and his æsthetic endowments to have been considerable) who valued his position for the opportunities which it afforded him, and was willing to part with the obligations of government to anyone who would take the labour off his hands. If Nero had real gifts as a ruler, why did he fail so lamentably at the end? Has Mr. Henderson given any real reason for believing that the acts of the 'quinquennium' were in any true sense Nero's own? It hardly seems as though the question had presented itself to him with sufficient force. But it will be the best mark of gratitude to Mr. Henderson for his most valuable help if students of his work will consider carefully whether a detailed consideration of the facts as presented by him and as summarized in his notes from the ancient authorities, succeeds in justifying his opinion of the Emperor.

*Alcuin: his Life and Times.* By C. J. B. GASKOIN, M.A.  
(Cambridge: University Press, 1904.)

MR. GASKOIN, in this short book, which has grown out of his Hulsean Prize Essay for 1899, has put together a full and careful account of the historical antecedents, life, and writings of Alcuin, Charles the Great's tutor and counsellor, the most distinguished Englishman of his day, and one who, whatever view be taken of his personal claim to be considered a great man, had no small share in the shaping of that system of culture which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages in Western Christendom. His direct influence was probably exercised mainly as a scholar and a teacher, the principal agent of his royal pupil in the movement which he inaugurated for the revival of learning within his dominions. But it is also not without significance that we find well marked in him certain tendencies profoundly characteristic of the Middle Ages as a whole. That sense of the supreme importance to European civilization of the Apostolic See, the centre of spiritual unity and the august depository at once

of the catholic Christian and of the imperial Roman tradition, which was rarely lacking to the higher minds of the period, even when they more clearly perceived the actual shortcomings of the Popes and of their court, comes out unmistakeably in Alcuin (although he stood with Charles in his resistance to the Pope's acquiescence in the approval accorded to image-worship by the second Council of Nicaea), even in such a point of detail as his refusal to compile a special Sacramentary for York, and his urgency that his native province should adopt the Roman order and thus, by imitating the head of the churches of Christ, earn the eternal blessing of the Prince of the Apostles. Again, although in his opposition to Adoptionism (as to the origin of which Mr. Gaskoin does not refer to Professor Harnack's account) Alcuin was probably on the side which agreed better with the deeper religious view of the Incarnation, yet, so far as there is truth in the view of mediæval theology which treats it as having let the life and example of the historical Jesus fall too much into the background, this characteristic is manifested at the beginning of its course in its defeat, through Alcuin's efforts, of the Spanish heresy which emphasized the humanity of Christ to the extent of seeming to give to it, with the Nestorians, the independence of a distinct personality.

One or two criticisms suggest themselves. On p. 205 Mr. Gaskoin seems to imply that Rabanus had some knowledge of Greek. What is the proof of this? Certainly his reference to Plato (p. 206, n. 2) is none; for this only requires that he should have known Chalcidius' version of the *Timaus*. Indeed, Mr. Gaskoin does not say that it implies an acquaintance with the original; and he may have some other passage in his mind which he does not mention. On p. 217 the author appears inclined to adopt the strange notion of Mr. Rule that the 'threshold of the Apostles Peter and Paul' can mean Canterbury. But surely it would require the very strongest evidence—far stronger than any afforded by the passage from Egbert of York on which it is based—to convince one that any place but Rome can be intended.

We have noticed two small misprints: p. 142 n. 2, *carmen* for *carnem*; and p. 148 n. 2 *nostro* for *nostrae*.

#### IV. MISSIONS.

*Russian Orthodox Missions.* By the Very Rev. EUGENE SMIRNOFF, Chaplain to the Imperial Russian Embassy in London. (London: Rivingtons, 1903.) Price 3s. 6d. net.

FROM time to time public attention has been drawn in England to the Missionary activities of the Russian Church, as, e.g., at the Norwich Church Congress in an address by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck. But there has not hitherto been any handy or easily accessible account of them

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This want Mr. Smirnoff has now supplied in his 'Short account of the historical development and present position of Russian Orthodox Missions.' It contains a vivid description of the spread of the Gospel through Siberia, but perhaps the most interesting pages are those which deal with the Orthodox congregations in the Far West of America, for whom the Liturgy has had to be translated into English. The difficulties of pioneer work both in regard to physical privations and linguistic experiment are clearly stated, and there are numerous points worthy of note for the comparative study of missions.

*Raymond Lull, the Illuminated Doctor.* By W. T. A. BARBER, B.D.  
(London: Charles H. Kelly, 1903.) Price 2s.6d.

THE chief materials for the Life of Lull are to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Born at Palma, Majorca, in 1236, he lived a life of pleasure and gallantry up to the age of thirty, when he was converted by some sudden crisis, and forthwith abandoned not only his habits but his wife and children, to undertake what he regarded as his mission, the conversion of the Moslems to Christianity. After about ten years of retirement, devoted to study and meditation, he began lecturing, and founded schools for the study of Arabic. Before 1290 he had published voluminous works, some of them in his native Catalan instead of Latin, a bold action in those days. His elaborate *Ars Inventiva* was considered a most convincing apologetic treatise, and he was surrounded by enthusiastic disciples. But he was not content to be a doctor of the Church. In 1291 he landed at Tunis as a missionary to the infidel. Driven from thence, he taught and wrote in Italy, never forgetting his great purpose, and in 1300 set himself to the conversion of the numerous Saracens of his native island. Before the end of that year he resumed his travels, visiting Cyprus, Armenia, and England, where Edward II. lodged him in the precincts of Westminster Abbey. During these years he poured forth strange books, not only on theology, but on alchemy, and perhaps on the Kabbala, for in the true spirit of the Middle Ages he was convinced that mathematics, physics and medicine could all be treated by the principles of his great *Ars*. In 1306 he again invaded Africa, where he was imprisoned for six months and then expelled. His last years were occupied with a vigorous polemic against Averroism, until the last expedition to Africa, which resulted in his martyrdom at Bugia in 1315.

Mr. Barber has given us an interesting sketch of this greatest of mediæval missionaries, whose strenuous life and varied activities make him one of the most attractive figures in Church History.

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Among 'characteristic utterances' the following may be given as specimens. 'Elevate thy knowledge, and thy love will be elevated. Heaven is not so lofty as the love of a holy man.' 'Better is a life spent in teaching others than one spent in fasting.' 'He who gives God can give nothing more.' The attacks made by the Dominicans against his orthodoxy have only served to perpetuate his renown, and in Majorca his effigy is to be seen everywhere.

*The Light of Melanesia.* By the Right Rev. Bishop MONTGOMERY, D.D. Second edition, revised. (London: S.P.C.K., 1904.) Price 3s. 6d.

THIS second edition of one of the best of missionary books comes at an opportune moment. To Englishmen at home, the Bishop can now speak with far greater authority than in 1894; while since that date not only has the Mission made striking progress, but its very face has largely changed, and it is at this moment passing through an important crisis. For that crisis, and the means by which it is being met, we refer the reader to the second of the three appendices to this edition. Suffice it here to say, that the new steamer has trebled the pace of the work, and that in the last ten years the number of white missionaries has increased fourfold—twelve of them being now ladies, a wholly new feature in this Mission.

In bringing his book up to date, the Bishop has had no easy task. Probably the course he has chosen is the best, viz. to leave the text much as it originally stood, while altering statistics and adding the main facts since 1894; the picturesque narrative of his own voyage among the Melanesian islands is thus preserved unimpaired. Slight inconsistencies, indeed, e.g. in the chapter on Guadalcanar, are occasionally the result; old statistics sometimes appear in the text, side by side with the new ones at the head of the chapter; but these, and other defects—as here and there an involved sentence or an inelegant repetition—are details, partly due, no doubt, to hurried writing in the midst of the Bishop's arduous and manifold labours, and easily removed in a future edition. Simple, terse, and vivid, the book is fascinating from cover to cover. Its pictures of actual missionary work, of the utter change wrought by Christianity in entire islands, e.g. Mota and Florida, of the careers of such men as George Sarawia, Clement Marau, or the converted head-hunting chief Soga, are inspiring indeed; and they are the jewels in a rich and varied setting. The happy, useful lives of the boys and girls at headquarters; the strange adventures of missionary life, on land or on shipboard; the still stranger customs of native etiquette; the marvellous volcanic and tropical scenery; the jabbering, laughter-

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loving Cruzian; the native of Mala, with his wonderful face-ornaments; the Parliament of Florida; the bold attempt to translate 'The wild asses quench their thirst' into Melanesian, and its startling result—these are but a few among a hundred brilliant details. The Bishop's wise words (especially in chapters iv. and v.), on Christianizing without Anglicizing, should be laid to heart by every thoughtful upholder of Missions.

*Principles and Problems of Foreign Missions.* Three Lectures delivered in the Church House, Westminster. By the Right Rev. Bishop MONTGOMERY, D.D. (London: S.P.G., 1904.) Price 1s.

THIS little book, published by the great Missionary Society of which the Bishop is Secretary, is of interest far beyond S.P.G. circles. It is, in the best sense, up to date; it deals, clearly and practically, with the new questions which are confronting the Mission-worker of the twentieth century, and with the old ones, not as they were formerly, but as they are to-day. The first lecture takes us to the root of the matter, by pointing out that for us 'the Messenger is the message'; that without our *personal* belief in Christ the Son of God, in the *facts* of His Incarnation, Life, Death, and Resurrection, 'there could be no Mission-work, nor indeed would the Christian Faith remain.' On this sure foundation—in a spirit of reverent devotion which runs through the book—the Bishop bases the fabric which he afterwards constructs. We cannot follow him through its details. We commend to the reader especially his demolition of some common objections to Missions; his treatment of Islam, especially in Africa, of the mistakes of missionaries and the inevitable 'transition period' among converts, of the difficulties of caste, polygamy, and ancestor-worship; his grave words on the necessity of missionary teaching to children and on the supply of workers for the Church of God. The Bishop's sanguine character is fully shown in his estimate of the possibilities of the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908. We trust that his enthusiasm may be infectious, and his best hopes realized.

*A Short Handbook of Missions.* By EUGENE STOCK. (London: Longmans, Green and Co.) Price 1s. net.

IN this most useful little book, the well-known author has done himself full justice. He has aimed at covering ground hitherto only partially occupied; and assuredly he has succeeded. Into little more than two hundred pages he has compressed a mine of information, such as no student of missions in general can afford to do

without, and which must needs be of value even to those whose interests are more limited. The subject of almost every chapter might itself be the subject of a book, or at least a pamphlet. It must suffice to mention a few, selected from each of the three parts into which the work is divided. (a) Part I., 'The Work':—'The Purpose of Missions,' 'The Support of Missions,' 'Missions and Governments,' 'The World's Population,' 'Non-Christian Religions and Christianity,' 'Objections and Criticisms.' (b) Part II., 'The Work Done':—'Seventeen Centuries of the Christian Era,' 'General Progress since 1872,' 'Testimonies,' 'Some Notable Missionaries,' 'Missions of the Greek and Roman Churches,' 'Missions to the Jews.' (c) Part III., 'The Work to be Done':—'Fields to be Worked,' 'Opportunities and Resources,' 'Building the Visible Church,' 'Aid for the Daughter Churches.' In short, as a book of reference the work is invaluable; while though of necessity it makes no brilliant literary pretensions, several of the chapters just mentioned, besides others, make thoroughly good reading. The little chapter on 'The Missionaries' we heartily commend, not only to the intending missionary, but to all who would induce others to become so; while of those already mentioned, we may perhaps single out, as specially interesting, those on 'Objections and Criticisms' and 'General Progress since 1872.' Mr. Stock, naturally enough, treats only of missions to non-Christian races; this compels him to put aside much of the best work of the S.P.G.; but, with his wonted fairness, he gives that Society all the prominence he can. If he makes the C.M.S. the most prominent of all societies, it is only because its work among the heathen is the most extensive. Few, if any, books in our missionary library will need to be taken from the shelf oftener than this.

*A Manual of the leading Muhammadan Objections to Christianity.*

Compiled by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D., C.M.S.  
(London: S.P.C.K., 1904.) Price 3s. 6d.

IN this work the experienced missionary and talented linguist, Dr. St. Clair Tisdall, has provided a manual for the use of those who would spread the Gospel among Moslems, and who are likely to need some initiation into so difficult a process. The book takes the form of a series of dialogues, doubtless reproducing actual conversations held by the author with Moslem opponents, and illustrating the objections which the Christian missionary has to face, and the answers which experience proves most efficient. The effect intended is probably the impression to be produced on the audience listening to the debate rather than the conversion of the actual disputant; thus if a Moslem quote Dr. Cheyne's views on the Bible, and the missionary replies, as he seems to have done, that such views imply a general

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disbelief in revealed religion, the audience, we are told, are likely to side with the missionary. We should prefer to trust Dr. Tisdall's experience to *a priori* assumptions as to the probable effect of modes of reasoning, since the subjective element is most important in debates of this sort. It would probably not occur to the inexperienced that photographs of the oldest codices of the New Testament form an important item in a missionary's outfit; but it appears that they are of use in convincing Moslems that the Christian Gospels existed in their present form before Mohammed's time, their effectiveness not being marred by the Moslem's ignorance of the language, and even the characters of the texts. Consistently with this experience of Moslem ways of thinking, Dr. Tisdall appended to the Persian edition of his *Sources of the Koran* copies of all the passages utilized in their original tongues.

In the defence put into the mouth of the Christian missionary suggestions are employed which emanate from a number of successful workers in this field, such as the Bishop of Lahore, Canon Sell, Dr. Zwemer, and others less celebrated. They consist often of homely but striking illustrations, which will answer objections better (or at any rate more effectively) than arguments.

The author's acquaintance with the Koran, its commentaries, and the Tradition is wide, and, on the whole, accurate. The sort of knowledge which he assumes in the opponent varies curiously from crass ignorance to minute acquaintance with the text of Scripture. The Moslem disputant supposes the Epistle of Jude to be by Iscariot, yet proves from Jeremiah that one of the genealogical line in St. Matthew had no son. This trait in the Mohammedan reasoner is, we fancy, true to life.

Controversial literature has, of course, the disadvantage that it tends to provoke replies, and there are those who think that Islam, in Egypt at any rate, has been braced by missionary effort directed against it; but for those whose mind is made up on the utility of such effort, and who feel called themselves to take part therein, Dr. Tisdall has, without doubt, provided a book which they would do well to master thoroughly.

#### V. BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore.* With a selection of his letters and an unpublished treatise. Edited, with notes and index, by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)

WILLIAM BEDELL was an Essex man, born at Black Notley, and sent to school at Braintree. He entered at Emmanuel College,

Cambridge, at the age of eleven, and when at length he became the incumbent of St. Mary's, in Bury St. Edmunds, it was said of him as a preacher that he did usually make the most obscure Scriptures plain. The chief landmarks of his life were that he became chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador at Venice in 1607, then provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and finally, in 1629, through the efforts of Laud, Bishop of Kilmore. As an aid to the student of this history, Mr. Shuckburgh has written an excellent introduction, has printed the two Lives of Bedell by his son and by A. Clogie, sixty-three of his letters, his treatise on the efficiency of grace, some careful notes, and a good index. The volume serves well to illustrate Bedell's character and some historical and religious points of the seventeenth century.

*Edward Lincoln Atkinson (1865-1902).* By the Very Rev. C. L. SLATTERY, Dean of the Cathedral in Faribault, Minnesota. (London: Longmans, 1904.) Price 4s. net.

THIS is a eulogy of an American clergyman of the type of Phillips Brooks. Edward Atkinson was a man of a large heart, sympathetic, enthusiastic, hard-working, with a genius for boys, generous, and delightful as a friend, a host and a guest. His own heart stands revealed in one of his favourite stories of a little girl carrying a heavy baby. 'Aren't you tired,' he asked her, 'carrying that heavy baby?' 'Oh, no,' she answered, 'he's not heavy, he's my brother.' The story of his life is well told by Dean Slattery, and while its general effect is bracing to the moral character, there are details of special interest which will repay attention. Among them are the outlines of one or two sermons and lectures which illustrate Mr. Atkinson's mode of composition; a considerable amount of indirect evidence of the conditions of work in Boston and in the American Church; a chapter of 'thick darkness' when he endured every form of suffering that seemed possible to the human eye, and yet regained his sight; a love of poetry in combination with strenuous practical occupation; and a tragic death in the midst of a full busy life. There is one curious omission in this record of a clergyman's life: it gives us little or no information as to Mr. Atkinson's relation to the Faith, practice, and discipline of the Church.

*Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, daughter of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.* Edited, with an introductory memoir, by Herbert Paul. (London: George Allen, 1904.) Price 15s. net.

MR. PAUL, in the excellent memoir which he has prefixed to this book, has taken the bread out of the reviewer's mouth by writing,

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'Such letters as the criticism of "John Inglesant," or the review of Mr. Gladstone as he will appear to posterity, or the estimate of Ultramontane ethics, stand out as solid documents with a permanent and independent value of their own' (p. xiii). These are the things one would have wished to quote, though not perhaps always to claim for them permanent value. Lord Acton, we acknowledge fully, was a letter-writer of the highest quality; but the letters now printed, from their very intimacy, show us, far more than any ordinary correspondence, the writer as he was at a particular moment, and the moment was for Lord Acton everything: he conceals nothing and has no self-restraint. Constantly it occurs to us that it is not fair to Lord Acton's memory that these very private expressions of transient opinion should have been given unreservedly to the world. Whatever our views of party politics may be, we shall hardly think that Lord Acton did himself justice when he confessed that he felt 'Salisbury's presence in Downing Street exactly as I should feel Bradlaugh's at Lambeth' (p. 214).

That Lord Acton had an unbounded admiration for Mr. Gladstone need not be said. He was a whole-hearted supporter of the doctrines preached in Midlothian, and he looked to them for more than they ever accomplished. Yet, sanguine as he was, he had his misgivings from the first. To Mrs. Drew (as she afterwards became) he wrote as early as May 1880 of the

'danger of disintegration and drifting. Both in Church questions, and, ultimately, in land questions, your father is at variance with the great bulk of colleagues and followers—Chamberlain and Argyll in one Cabinet is an anomaly sure to tell in time, especially with Argyll discontented. So do not undervalue, or neglect, or waste, the social influence which centres in your hands' (p. 13).

If the party was to be consolidated it must be largely by improving social relations. Lord Acton clearly thought that Mr. Gladstone was too well satisfied with his older friends and associates to think it worth while to extend his circle so as to include younger men who might be of use to the party. He was never tired of urging the claims of various persons—not all of whom have quite justified his advocacy—to admission to the Prime Minister's social gatherings. This point of view indicates, what Lord Acton does not deny (p. 107), his leaning towards the Whig tradition. Of 'Cobdenism' he was suspicious (p. 19). Mr. Paul says (p. lxi) that 'he had as little liking for Socialism as Mr. Gladstone himself'; and yet, after the Irish Land Act, he wrote:

'I quite agree with Chamberlain, that there is latent Socialism in the Gladstonian philosophy. What makes me uncomfortable is his inatten-

tion to the change that is going on in these things. I do not mean in European opinion but in the strict domain of science. . . It is not the popular movement, but the travelling of the minds of the men who sit in the seat of Adam Smith that is really serious and worthy of all attention' (p. 212).

He spoke of 'the academic Socialists, who, in the last ten years, have occupied almost all the Chairs of Germany, and who have been the warmest admirers of the Irish policy' (p. 170); and he thought that Henry George had 'in large measure the ideas of the age that is to come' (p. 175). But with Lord Acton impressions counted for very much, and we believe Mr. Paul's remark to be true after all.

On one subject Lord Acton is free from any ambiguity, and that is Ultramontaniam, of which he cannot find anything too bitter, too vindictive, to say.

'A speculative Ultramontaniam separate from theories of tyranny, mendacity, and murder, keeping honestly clear of the Jesuit with his lies, of the Dominican with his fagots, of the Popes with their massacres, has not yet been brought to light' (p. 131).

'A man's opinion of the papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination. . . If he accepts the Primacy with confidence, admiration, unconditional obedience, he must have made terms with murder' (pp. 185-6).

These are echoes of the letters, and of the period, of 'Quirinus,' and do not seem profitable to discuss now; they serve to show how ineffaceable a mark the contest which raged down to 1870 had left on Lord Acton's mind.

It will surprise some, who are unaware of the deep attraction which the theology of the English Church had for him, that he interested himself actively in matters of ecclesiastical patronage. Most of all was he anxious that Dr. Liddon should be made Bishop of London. 'Assuredly, Liddon is the greatest power in the conflict with sin, and in turning the souls of men to God, that the nation now possesses' (p. 202). Not less sincere, though on different grounds, was his admiration for Dr. Stubbs, in spite of their sharp divergence in politics. That Lord Acton should have been consulted about the deputy-keepership of the public records was natural; but his recommendation for the post of Freeman, whose aversion to manuscripts was a proverb, reveals a flaw either in his omniscience or in his judgment.

We have no space to dwell here upon the delightful criticisms of men and manners, the discussions on literature, or the eager discussions of questions of the day, which make these letters such stimu-

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lating reading. Among other things the heedful student will notice that Home Rule was actively canvassed in the inner councils of the Liberal party at an earlier date than is generally understood.

The book is provided with an excellent index, but its annotation leaves something to be desired. For instance, on p. 28, fifty-one was the number of the Liberal peers who supported the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880, not of those Liberals who voted with the Opposition. And on p. 120 'H.' might as well have been identified with Abraham Hayward, since his authorship of one of the articles credited to him is public.

*Highways and Byeways in South Wales.* By A. G. BRADLEY. With Illustrations by FREDERICK L. GRIGGS. Price 6s. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)

MR. BRADLEY most certainly possesses one of the qualifications needed for his task—a hearty enthusiasm for his subject. There are admirers and lovers of South Wales who, though they would fain agree with Mr. Bradley, are hardly able to do so when he says of Radnorshire that, 'if it were rated among English counties, only Devonshire, short of the far north, and excluding seacoast scenery, could pretend to the same class. Far be it from the present writer to underrate the Wye Valley or Radnor Forest, or to think scorn of that pleasant land which is watered by the western tributaries of the Wye between Builth and Rhayader. Still, recollections of woodland glades among the Surrey hills, and of the glories of the West Riding, make one hesitate to accept Mr. Bradley's doctrine in its fulness.

Mr. Bradley avowedly regards bicycling as the one means of locomotion open to the tracker in search of the picturesque, and has little sympathy with 'the pedestrian of former days, knapsack on back.' We would point out that by a little contrivance the knapsack, or even something of wider resources, can generally make its independent journey by rail or mail-cart, and join its owner in the evening, and that 'the man who voyages On Shanks his Mare,' like him approved of by Mr. Godley, can very often substitute a mountain track for the road to which the cyclist is limited.

Mr. Bradley does not profess much sympathy with those with whom travel has a definite object, such as archæology, architecture, or any branch of natural science. He gossips on, pleasantly, diffusely, in no wise critically, concerning the natural features and the traditions of the country through which he is guiding us. He might thus leave an impression that South Wales had no special attractions for the archæologist or the student of architecture. Glamorgan-

shire, the land of castles, is of set purpose excluded from Mr. Bradley's survey. But, even if we take only those parts of South Wales with which he deals, the student of castle architecture, who places himself under the guidance of Mr. Clark, will find ample matter in the remains of Kidwelly and Tretower, and other mediæval military works too many to name. For ecclesiastical grandeur South Wales can only appeal to St. Davids and Brecon. But if we can dispense with grandeur, and be delighted with originality, and strange, we might almost say fantastic, outlines and details, she, too, has much to show. Let any student of architecture turn to the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and there see the Pembrokeshire churches, as criticized by the pen and illustrated by the pencil of Mr. Freeman; he will certainly desire to see with his own eyes 'those complicated and picturesque outlines of every kind.'

We are not imputing these omissions to Mr. Bradley as failings. To blame a book for not being that which it never claims or professes to be is a poor form of criticism. Only we would warn the traveller that, over and above the good things to which Mr. Bradley guides him, he will find other good things not a whit less worthy of his attention.

Mr. Bradley extracts from a Pembrokeshire writer, George Owen, a passage which ought to interest readers in these days of athletic enthusiasm. With a rather characteristic indifference to precision, he does not tell us when George Owen lived; but as Mr. Bradley speaks of his contemporaries as 'Elizabethan Welshmen,' we may assume that he was of the seventeenth century. He describes a game called *knappan*, a sort of combination of hockey and football, played between parishes, manors, or even districts. At times there would be a thousand players in the field. A hard wooden ball was flung, not kicked, and the play continued for several hours. There was, it would seem, no defined goal, but the ball was forced, if possible, across the enemy's boundary, and there kept till nightfall. The most startling feature of the game was the presence on each side of a mounted force, armed with clubs, who dealt blows 'that would fell an ox or horse.' Small wonder if 'broken heades, black faces, bruised bodies, and lame legges' accrued. There is nothing new under the sun, and Winchester 'ropes play' and the defensive tactics of the Eton wall game seem to have had their prototype in *knappan*. 'When the weaker side saw itself overmatched,' Mr. Bradley tells us, 'a player when he got the ball, would clasp it against his middle, one of his own side facing him, and clutching him, turn round the waist, so that the *knappan* (the ball) was pressed between them. And the rest of the side rallying round, and laying grypes on

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round and about them both, and knit together like bees in a swarm, formed a phalanx that the other side would take a quarter of an hour to dissolve. A series of these somewhat monotonous manoeuvres often enabled the weaker side 'to ware out the day and give over play, without disgrace to themselves or their county.' We doubt whether the most stubborn wall players who ever kept the ball in just outside their own *calx* would have been proof against a charge of mounted skirmishers.

We would say one word about Mr. Griggs' illustrations. The sites are for the most part well chosen and the details effective. We think, however, that they are sometimes a little too effective, and the artist is occasionally like Clough's Piper, 'into the great might-have-been upsoaring sublime and ideal.' Dwellers in Breconshire would hardly recognize the not formidable slopes of the Bwlch pass in the Alpine-looking heights here portrayed. Again, in the view taken from the Castle Hill, New Radnor (p. 17), it seems to us that the undulating character which specially marks that country is lost, and a boldness of outline substituted which belongs rather to Merionethshire or Carnarvonshire.

*Crabbe.* By ALFRED AINGER. 'English Men of Letters Series.' (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.) Price 2s. net.

ONE of the last works of Canon Ainger's life was the production of a really interesting book upon a writer who cannot be considered as generally interesting to the reading public of to-day. There has indeed been a little revival of interest in Crabbe (shown by the appearance of reprints and selections from his poems, as well as by the present biography), due in part to the general revival of literary classics and semi-classics, which is a marked and satisfactory feature in the contemporary publishing trade, and in part to the influence of Edward FitzGerald's advocacy; but we cannot believe that he will ever be largely read again. He has merits, no doubt—observation of life and nature, interest in humble life and character, the desire to be truthful and not conventional—but all these virtues are upon rather a modest scale, and are apt to be overwhelmed by the great flood of his mediocrity in imagination, in expression, and in technique. The conventionality which he wished to avoid in the substance of his delineations of country life returned upon him in the conventionality of his language and rhythm; and the reader must plough through great wastes of monotonous commonplace in order to arrive at the rare beauties of thought or expression. Canon Ainger himself destroys the reader's last hope when he admits that selections from Crabbe (even by so sympathetic a hand as that of

FitzGerald) cannot give a satisfactory impression. He must 'soak in' in large masses; and we fear that this means that the reader must be lowered to the level on which Crabbe ordinarily moves in order to welcome his occasional excellences with a proper gratitude. Still, Crabbe has a niche of his own in the temple of English literature, and there will always be some sympathetic (and leisured) persons who will study him. For them there will be no better introduction than Canon Ainger's biography. It is by no means unduly laudatory. It admits Crabbe's faults, but it does full justice

his merits, while arousing interest in his personality and sympathy with his career, which (especially at the beginning) was not without its romance. And those who knew Canon Ainger, as writer or preacher, will understand that it is written in a graceful and pleasant style, the style of one whose naturally fine taste has been cultivated by a life of devotion to the masters of English literature.

#### VI. ECONOMICS.

*Christian Social Union Addresses.* By the late BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.) Price 1s. net.

THIS well-printed and handy little volume consists of a series of seven addresses given at the annual meetings of the Christian Social Union from 1894 to 1900 inclusive. The first, delivered at Cambridge, explains the principles of the Union, whose purpose is to vindicate the application of the Christian Faith, as the direct rule of our social, civic and national, no less than of our personal, life. 'We claim' (the writer urges) 'for Christian law, the ultimate authority to rule Christian practice.' For, in the mystic language in which Dr. Westcott delighted, the treasures of the Gentiles belong to the Christ as much as do the treasures of Israel. The reforms our social state demands so urgently will only come through legislation when we have first reformed the unwritten laws of social intercourse. 'Right action is for the most part determined by a proportion between eternal principles and the changing conditions of complex life, and the best at any particular time is that which tends on the whole to advance the general movement towards the ideal' (p. 11), in other words towards perfect social order as seen in the light of the Incarnation. The fuller explanation of this principle, as 'The Christian Law' and 'The Aim and Method of Education,' was developed at Manchester and Bristol, and its application to Social Service, Expenditure and Progress, forms the subject-matter of the last three addresses. All alike are marked by Dr. Westcott's distinguishing characteristics; a certain (perhaps inevitable) vagueness of definition, the loftiest moral purpose, and

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the most transparent sincerity. We cordially recommend these most suggestive addresses to all our readers.

*Old Age Pensions.* A Collection of Short Papers. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.) Price 2s. 6d. net.

THIS book contains a mine of information on the subject under consideration, and should not be disregarded simply because it represents a particular point of view. It is the outcome of a special investigation undertaken by a voluntary committee, which commanded the services of some well-known experts in the practical administration of poor-law relief or provident societies. Most of the papers are signed by 'C. S. L.' or 'W. A. B.,' and the whole volume may fairly be taken as an uncompromising restatement of the *laissez-faire* attitude adopted by the Charity Organization Society towards any State-aided scheme of pensions for the aged poor. The question is, no doubt, really urgent, and likely to recur again from time to time in practical politics. In spite of the fact that there has been a continuous improvement in the general condition of the working classes (as shown by quotations from Sir R. Giffen's addresses given in chap. xiii.) we are bound to recognize that something is seriously wrong in a social system which can produce such results as those set forth in Mr. Charles Booth's account of the extent of poverty in London, or by Mr. Rowntree in his similar researches for York. And although Mr. Chamberlain has tacitly allowed the preliminary bribe of old-age pensions to drop out of his proposed policy of fiscal reform, still the example of foreign countries and of some of our own colonies, and the growing inclination of our great working-class institutions like the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies to engage directly in politics, make it almost inevitable that the question should come up again for public discussion.

With regard to schemes involving only partial contributions by the State (altogether over one hundred different plans were submitted to Lord Rothschild's Committee), the evidence is mainly negative, and indeed, as even Mr. Booth allows, conclusive. Speaking broadly, they would all entail a heavy charge to provide pensions for only a portion of the poorer classes; they might tend to depress the wage-rate; and, at best, they would chiefly benefit the better class of workpeople, and might fail to help those who stand in most need of such assistance. As the Treasury Committee reported in 1898:—'It is only very slowly and with very great reluctance that we have been forced to the conclusion that none of the schemes submitted to us would attain the objects which the Government had in

view, and that we ourselves are unable, after repeated attempts, to devise any proposal free from grave inherent disadvantages.' And Mr. H. W. Wolff points out (chap. xviii) that the practical difficulties of a contributory system, even in a bureaucratic country like Germany, are tending to drive the Government, much against its will, in the direction of universal pensions paid out of taxation.

The choice lies, then, between voluntary agencies and some system of universal pensions provided by the State. This volume of essays is emphatically in favour of the former. The writers believe that by encouraging the Friendly Societies, the Trade Unions, and especially the great industrial organizations, to make fuller provision for the old age of their members or employees, we shall be in a fair way to solve the problem. As against Mr. Booth's scheme, the chief argument is its enormous cost, apart from the expenses of administration—viz. 16,000,000*l.* a year to begin with, at the lowest estimate, and in fifty years probably double that amount.

*Methods of Social Advance.* Short Studies in Social Practice by various Authors. Edited by C. S. LOCH, B.A., Secretary of the London Charity Organization Society. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.) Price 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

'To make benevolence scientific,' Arnold Toynbee used to say, 'is the great problem of the present age.' And whatever measure of success in this direction has already been achieved is largely owing to the persistent and painstaking efforts of the Charity Organization Society. The theory of scientific charity has been expounded over and over again in conferences, books, pamphlets, and newspaper correspondence, since the foundation of the Society in 1869, while its various local committees have always been resolute to practise what they preached in the actual administration of the funds placed at their disposal for the relief of distress. And yet it must be confessed that all this continuous and increasing volume of precept and example, sound as it is for the most part on its positive side, has made but little practical impression upon the mind and conscience of the charitable public.

Why is this? Partly, no doubt, because, in general, the ordinary person has not the patience to understand the principles and methods of any scientific system, and, in particular, is apt to imagine that the advocates of charity organization are excessively hard and unsympathetic in their application of general rules to individual cases. Another, and perhaps more potent, reason for the unpopularity of the Charity Organization Society is connected with the critical and negative aspect of its propaganda. Some of its more prominent members are, as they have, no doubt, a perfect right to be, con-

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vinced Individualists in politics, and are therefore prone to minimize the influence of social forces, whether upwards or downwards, and to discourage any extension of collective enterprise on the part of the State for the benefit of a particular section or in the interests of the whole community. They almost seem to assume that, if only the poor were more thrifty and charity were strictly administered, there would be no need for any other kind of social reform. Here, for example, is Mrs. Bosanquet having another rap at Mr. Rowntree's statistics, and asserting that the more flagrant cases of poverty are seldom due to insufficient earnings. 'In the great majority of these cases,' she says, 'a wise economy is all that is needed to remedy the poverty.' This may be allowed to pass, if we are free to emphasize the fact that *only* the more flagrant cases of the worst type of poverty are being referred to, but it is ludicrously inadequate if meant as a reply to Mr. Rowntree's main contention. Again, the very title of this book, though it does not explicitly say so, may be taken to suggest, perhaps quite without any deliberate intention, that these are the only trustworthy methods of social progress.

However, there is a great deal of sound and wholesome instruction in these studies, which are by no means limited to the administration of charity in the narrower sense. They also include the discussion of various proposals for social improvement, such as Physical Education, Emigration, Apprenticeship, Agricultural Employment, and Industrial Partnerships. There are, moreover, welcome signs that the Charity Organization Society is preparing to reconsider some of its principles, and to widen its horizon, as, for instance, in Mr. Urwick's Paper on 'A School of Sociology.'

#### VII. LECTURES AND SERMONS.

1. *The Decadence of Preaching. An Indictment and a Remedy.* By the Rev. H. FORD, D.C.L. With a Preface by the ARCHDEACON OF LONDON. (London: Elliot Stock, 1903.) Price 2s. 6d. net.
2. *The Master's Questions. Thoughts, Devotional and Practical, for the Silent Hour.* By the Rev. G. H. KNIGHT. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.) Price 5s.
3. *The Crises of the Christ.* By the Rev. G. C. MORGAN, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.) Price 7s. 6d.
4. *Sunrise. Addresses from a City Pulpit.* By the Rev. G. H. MORRISON, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.) Price 5s.
5. *Faith's Perplexities.* By the Rev. R. J. DRUMMOND, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.) Price 5s.

DR. FORD asserts that the Church of England as an evangelizing power is weakest in one of her main functions—namely, that of preach-

ing. If asked for the grounds of this assertion he would say, Look at the revival of a sacerdotal ritual (he means ceremonial), and remember that in the present Ordinal the Bible is delivered to the priest instead of the mediæval *porrectio instrumentorum*. Look again, he says, at the inefficiency of preachers, and what can you expect from men who do not adequately respond to the spiritual needs of men and women by a more devoted self-consecration of their entire personality to the preaching of the Gospel? And, once more, look at the laxity of devotional Bible study, only natural when you observe that the clergy are too much immersed in mundane affairs. From these accusations, made, we must say, with a great deal too much assurance, Dr. Ford draws some useful lessons. He would arrest the decadence which he supposes to exist by a truer conception of the function of the sermon as a message from God for the salvation of man; by the consecration of the preacher to this weighty task; and by daily devotional study of the Bible. We are not at all disposed to take Dr. Ford's 'decadence' for granted; we think that it was a pity to drag in the section on the red rag of sacerdotalism; and while we admit that clergymen may find some elements of usefulness in the later part of the book, we hope that they will not imitate Dr. Ford when he speaks of the eloquence 'of a Chrysostom, a Boyd-Carpenter, or a Knox-Little.' The book is dedicated to the Bishop of Durham.

Mr. Knight, having a devotional and practical end in view, has not treated the questions which our Lord asked in the Gospels critically or exegetically. He adopts the title of 'The Master' to emphasize our Lord's absolute sovereignty over the lives of Christians, and has written his meditations in such a personal form that each reader may adopt them as his own. If this be not borne in mind the opening words of many of the sections will irritate the reader from the apparent egoism of their form. Even with this caution we shall hardly disarm the criticism of many readers when Mr. Knight says, 'I am sure there must have been a beautiful smile on the Master's face as He spoke these tender and cheering words.' But as a contribution to the deeper devotional use of the Gospel narrative we can extend a qualified welcome to Mr. Knight's thoughts.

By a 'Crisis' Dr. Morgan means a stage in an orderly method. Between the two facts of the ruin and the completed redemption of the human race he traces seven such orderly stages in the redeeming work of our Lord—His human birth, His baptism, His temptation, His transfiguration, His crucifixion, His resurrection, and His ascension. He regards each of these great events as ushering in a

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new order of things in the work of Christ, crowning the past and creating the force required for the future. Round these landmarks of our Lord's life Dr. Morgan arranges a connected series of very valuable studies upon the Gospel narrative—orthodox, thoughtful and abounding in suggestive comment. We must confine ourselves to a brief account of his mode of connecting together the different parts of his subject, in the hope that it will be sufficient to convince our readers that they have here an unusually excellent book on the contents of the Gospel. The ruin of man, says Dr. Morgan, created a great cry which appealed to the infinite love of the infinite heart of God. This cry was answered by the gift of the Incarnate Son, the Son of God made man, and announced at His baptism as the Lamb of God, whose mighty work was to bear away the sin of the world. In the temptation He is seen already exercising the functions of the Conqueror of sin and Satan, and through the glory of the Transfiguration He passes on towards the Cross, 'with the tread of One who having conquered goes forth to yet sterner battles and more glorious triumphs.' When he gazes in astonishment at the vicarious, expiatory, atoning sufferings of Christ, Dr. Morgan pleads for these old theological words of our fathers in their true and infinite value, not in any mistaken interpretation of them. In the resurrection he hears the clearest note of the battle-song of the Church. In the ascension he beholds upon the throne of heaven God's Man and man's God, who has restored man to God, through whom man knows God and in whom man is made like God.

Mr. Morrison chooses his title from the prophecy of the Sun of righteousness, who shall arise with healing in His wings. The volume contains occasional addresses delivered to a Glasgow congregation, and very well adapted to the varied needs of such a modern educated audience. Mr. Morrison chooses striking texts and titles, and works out his subject in a striking way, with a facility for the employment of illustrations from literature and current affairs.

Dr. Drummond has provided us with some very serviceable chapters of apologetic literature. He writes in an unassuming way, but with the full conviction that Christianity is under no restraint to stand merely on the defensive. The war can be carried into the camp of the enemy, whose pretensions are demonstrably flimsy. An excessive readiness to make concessions is always a mistake in warfare. But before starting upon the campaign it is well to express our convictions, and to examine both our own ground and that of the enemy. Dr. Drummond has done this with regard to such subjects as the reasonableness of religion, the trustworthiness of the Gospels, the Person and claims of our Lord, the persistence of Christianity,

the inconsistency of Christians, Sunday, miracles, sin, prayer, and other subjects which bear upon the creed, life, and destiny of a Christian. We are persuaded that this volume will not only help to 'dissipate the needless perplexities of loyal, troubled hearts,' but also will provide them with many sound arguments and lines of thought which will enable them to be of service to some souls who are sadly groping in the dark.

*Sojourning with God.* By ROBERT RAINY, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.) Price 6s.

THE seventeen sermons which the Principal of New College, Edinburgh, here prints in a collected form, were prepared for different occasions, and do not deal with any continuous theme. We are disposed to think that the weightiest sermon in the volume is one upon Christ's death for sin; two were preached in connexion with the death of dear friends. The first sermon in the collection gives the title to the book, and all the rest are so written as to be in harmony with the thought suggested by the first. They read well as the measured utterance of a reflecting cultivated mind which is at home in an atmosphere of religious interests. Perhaps the 'rest that remaineth,' the prospect of dying, and the end of man, are the dominant thoughts of the discourses.

#### PERIODICALS.

*The Journal of Theological Studies* (Vol. VI. No. 21, October 1904. Macmillan and Co.). 'Robert Campbell Moberly,' by W. H. Moberly. An interesting critique of our article on Dr. Moberly (*C. Q. R.* April 1904), by his son. 'The Beliefs of Early Mohammedans respecting a Future Existence,' by A. A. Bevan. 'The Inspiration of the Liturgy,' by F. Granger. 'The Book of the Dead,' by G. St. Clair. 'An unknown Fragment of the pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*,' by A. Souter. From MS. Biblioteca Antoniana, Scaff. X. N. 191 at Padua. 'The Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets, V.,' by W. O. E. Oesterley: Joel and Obadiah. 'The Letters of St. Isidore of Pelusium,' by C. H. Turner. 'Recent Work on Euthalius,' by the Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson. 'The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary,' by F. C. Burkitt. 'Poems of Liturgical Lections and Gospels,' by P. H. Droosten. 'Baptism by Affusion in the Early Church,' by C. F. Rogers. 'The Etymology of Bartholomew,' by N. Herz. 'Pontius Pilate in the Creed,' by T. H. Bindley. 'The Origen-Citations in Cramer's Catena on I. Corinthians,' by C. Jenkins. Corrections of Cramer from MS. Paris grec 227. 'The *Agur* on St. Paul's Voyage,' by J. R. Madan. 'Mark the "Curt-Fingered" Evangelist,' by V. Bartlet. Reviews: 'C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*,' by W. E. Crum. 'Caldecott and Mackintosh, *Selections from the Literature of Theism*,' by C. C. J. Webb. 'W. H. Hutton, *The English Church from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne*,' by E. W. Watson. 'P. Sabatier, *Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum eius*,'

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by W. H. Hutton. 'A. Dmitrievskij, *Description of the Liturgical MSS preserved in the Libraries of the Orthodox East (Opisanie Liturgičeskich Ručopisej Chranjaščichsja v Bibliotekach Pravoslavnjago Vostoka)*,' by F. C. Conybeare. 'A. Andersen, *Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus*,' 'D. Stone, *The Holy Communion*,' 'The *Pentecostal Gift*,' by J. H. Srawley. 'Critical Questions,' by E. de la Hay. Chronicle: 'C. Clemens, *Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken*,' 'J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*,' by W. Lock. 'Th. Calmes, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean*,' by A. E. Brooke. 'Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*,' by G. A. Cooke. 'A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*,' by W. C. Allen. 'V. Rose, *Studies on the Gospels*,' by A. S. Barnes. 'R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*,' by W. E. Barnes. 'Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume,' 'Encyclopaedia Biblica, Vol. IV,' 'Abbott, *From Letter to Spirit and Paradosis*,' 'R. St. J. Parry, *Epistle of St. James*,' 'Plummer, *II. Corinthians*,' by J. F. Bethune-Baker.

*The Expositor* (Nos. LVIII.-LX. October-December 1904. Hodder and Stoughton). 'The Flavian Persecution in the Province of Asia,' by W. M. Ramsay. 'The Permanent Elements of Religion, II,' by D. S. Margoliouth. 'Characteristics of New Testament Greek,' VIII. (continued November-December), by J. H. Moulton. 'Notes on the Text of II. Peter,' by J. B. Mayor. 'St. John ix.: a Foreshadowing of Christian Martyrdom,' by A. Carr. 'The Life of Christ according to St. Mark' (continued), by W. H. Bennett. 'Studies in I. John: V, The Inadmissibility of Sin' (continued December), by G. G. Findlay. November: 'The View from Mt. Nebo,' by G. B. Gray. 'The Letter to the Church in Philadelphia,' by W. M. Ramsay. 'The Revised Version of the New Testament,' by J. A. Beet. In reply to J. B. McClellan (*Expositor*, Sept. 1904). 'A Messianic Prophecy,' by W. E. Barnes: Micah iv. 8-v. 6 [Heb. v. 5]. 'Literary Illustrations of Ecclesiastes' (continued December), by J. Moffatt. December: 'The Historical Character of Jesus of Nazareth,' by D. S. Margoliouth. 'Dogmatic Theology: its Nature and Function,' by H. R. Mackintosh. 'The Origin of Sacrifice among the Semites as deduced from Facts gathered among Syrians and Arabs,' by S. I. Curtiss.

*The Critical Review* (Vol. XIV. Nos. 5-6. September-November 1904. Williams and Norgate). 'The First Sadducees,' by C. H. Thomson. 'M. Reischle, *Theologie und Religionsgeschichte*,' and Kuelpe, *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart in Deutschland*,' by A. E. Garvie. 'Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. II,' by D. Purves. 'Lévy-Bruhl, *Philosophy of Comte*,' by J. Lendrum. 'C. A. Bugge, *Das Gesetz und Christus im Evangelium*,' and 'Bindeman, *Das Gebet um tägliche Vergebung der Sünden*,' by R. W. Stewart. 'Sorley, *Recent Tendencies in Ethics*,' and 'Dörner, *Grundprobleme der Religionsphilosophie*,' by J. Iverach. Professor Salmond reviews: 'A. Sabatier, *Religions of Authority*,' 'Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume'; 'A. C. Fraser, *Biographia Philosophica*,' and 'A. Bain, *Autobiography*,' 'E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*,' 'Plummer, *II. Corinthians*,' 'W. T. Whitley, *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments in the New Testament*,' 'E. A. Abbott, *Paradosis*,' 'M. Bateson, *Mediaeval England*,' 'W. Herrmann, *Faith and Morals* (E. T.),' 'H. H. Henson, *The Value of the Bible*,' 'Workman and Pope, *Letters of John Hus*,' 'J. Hehn, *Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung*,' 'Grenfell and Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus*,' and other works. November: 'Recent Tendencies in American

Philosophy,' by W. Caldwell. 'Inge, Faith and Knowledge,' and 'Ross, The Teaching of Jesus,' by J. Lendrum. 'S. A. Brooke, The Kingship of Love,' 'Darwell Stone, The Discipline of Faith,' 'Jordan, The Philippian Gospel, or Pauline Ideals,' by W. M. Rankin. 'Marti, Dodekapropheton, I.,' and 'Jeremias, Das A. T. im Lichte des Alten Orients,' by W. H. Bennett. 'Creighton, The Mind of St. Peter,' and 'Bruce, The Common Hope,' by W. M. Grant. 'Merz, History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, II.,' by W. Profeit. 'The Influence of Roman Law upon Christianity,' by H. W. Gibson. 'Gasser, Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesu Ben Sira für die Datierung des Althebräischen Spruchbuches,' and 'Lincke, Samaria und seine Propheten,' by G. G. Cameron. Professor Salmond reviews: 'Flint, Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum'; 'E. von Dobschütz, Christian Life in the Primitive Church (E. T.);' 'W. Beveridge, Short History of the Westminster Assembly'; 'Moffatt, Golden Book of John Owen'; 'H. Ryle, Archbishop (sic) of Winchester, On the Church of England.'

The *Hibbert Journal* (Vol. III. No. 1. October 1904. Williams and Norgate). 'Sin,' by Sir O. Lodge. 'The Discussion between Sir Oliver Lodge and the Bishop of Rochester,' by J. H. Muirhead. 'A Catholic Comment on "The Re-interpretation of Christian Doctrine,"' by 'A Catholic Priest. 'Dante,' by E. G. Gardner. 'The Triumph of Erasmus in Modern Protestantism,' by H. Goodwin Smith. 'Dreams and Idealism,' by F. C. S. Schiller. 'The Ten Commandments: a Study in Practical Ethics,' by C. B. Wheeler. Flippant and superficial. 'The Degrading of the Priesthood in the Church of England,' by W. Manning. The writer seems to have a poor opinion of the intelligence of his fellow clergy. 'M. Alfred Loisy's Type of Catholicism,' by P. Gardner. 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews,' by W. F. Adeney. An interesting discussion. Mrs. Gurney and Messrs. A. Sloman and J. H. Spalding discuss Mr. St. George Stock's article 'The Problem of Evil' (*H.J.* July 1904), Dr. Moffatt criticizes Mr. H. S. Perris on 'Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II.' (*H.J.* July 1904); Prof. Schmiedel replies to Prof. Stanton on 'The Early Use of the Gospels' (*H.J.* April-July 1904); and Mr. W. E. Hazell criticizes Dr. Mellone's 'Present Aspects of the Doctrine of Immortality' (*H.J.* July 1904). Reviews: 'E. Caird, Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers,' by R. Latta; 'L. Laberthonnière, Essais de Philosophie religieuse and Le Réalisme chrétien et l'Idéalisme grec,' by A. L. Lilley; 'W. Ward, Problems and Persons,' by A. Pinchard, 'Jülicher, Introduction to the New Testament (E. T.),' by W. H. Bennett; 'J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Marci,' by J. Moffatt; 'R. T. Herford, Christianity in Talmud and Midrash,' by H. Oort; 'Cullen, The Book of the Covenant in Moab,' by W. E. Addis.

The *American Journal of Theology* (Vol. VIII. No. 4. October 1904. Chicago University Press). 'The Religious Forecast in England,' by A. T. Innes. 'The possibilities of the English religious situation, now as at all times, do not turn solely on the Church of England. They depend rather on a Protestant England, within which there is an ancient Church in unstable equilibrium' (!) 'Art, Religion, and the Emotions,' by R. M. Binder. 'The Oral Sources of the Patriarchal Narratives,' by L. B. Paton. 'The narratives of the patriarchs are derived from . . . (1) the tradition which Israel brought into the land of Canaan; (2) the tradition developed after the conquest; (3) the tradition derived from Babylonia; (4) the tradition learned from the Canaanites.' 'The Problem of Religious Education and the Divinity School,' by B. W. Bacon. Hodgson's *Metaphysics of Experience* as the Foundation of Theology,' by J.

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Ten Broeke. Examines Mr. Shadworth Hodgson's book at length. 'Jews and Anti-Semites in Ancient Alexandria,' by E. von Dobschütz. A valuable discussion with the Greek text of some new fragments. 'Brooke Foss Westcott,' by C. R. Gregory. A review of his *Life*. 'Intuitionist Interpretation of the Psalms,' by J. P. Peters. Criticizes Dr. Cheyne. Reviews: 'Rice, *Christian Faith in an Age of Science*,' by C. R. Barnes; 'Denney, *The Death of Christ and The Atonement and the Modern Mind*,' by P. S. Moxom; 'H. Spencer's *Autobiography*,' by F. Tracy; 'L. Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher*,' by F. H. Foster; 'P. Fiebig, *Talmud und Theologie*,' 'M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*,' 'R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*,' by W. R. Betteridge; 'T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*,' 'W. Lowrie, *The Church and its Organization in Primitive and Catholic Times*,' by A. V. G. Allen; 'A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands: IV, Die Hohenstaufenzeit*,' 'F. S. Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messias-Begriffs*,' by H. W. Hulbert; 'P. Wernle, *Die Reichsgotteshoffnung*,' 'Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*,' 'R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*,' by S. Matthews. 'Widmann, *Die Echtheit der Mahnrede Justins d. M. an die Heiden*,' 'Bonwetsch, *Die Theologie des Methodius von Olympos*,' 'Harnack on the Pseudo-Cyprianic *De Singularitate Clericorum*,' the *Hypotyposes* of Theognostus and the forged *Epistle of Theonas*,' by F. S. Arnold.

*The Princeton Theological Review* (Vol. II. No. 4. October 1904. Philadelphia: MacCalla & Co.). 'The Great Awakening and its Relation to American Christianity,' by E. W. Miller. Deals with Jonathan Edwards and the Revival of 1740. 'Why the Mind has a Body,' by J. Orr. Reviews Professor C. A. Strong's book. 'Destructive Criticism,' by (the late) J. Cooper. 'There are properly no Higher Critics, though this name may be arrogated by a class of butchers, such as Delitzsch and Schmiedel!' 'The Infinite, Contradictory, and Faith,' by W. H. Hodge. 'The Millennium and the Apocalypse,' by B. B. Warfield. 'Royal Titles in Antiquity: an Essay in Criticism, III.,' by R. D. Wilson. Reviews: 'Iverach, *Descartes, Spinoza and the New Philosophy*,' 'Softley, *Theism under Natural Law*' [bitterly hostile to *Lux Mundi*], by H. C. Minton. 'S. L. Bowman, *Historical Evidence of the New Testament*,' by W. B. Greene, jun. 'Auchinloss, *The Only Key to Daniel's Prophecies*,' by J. R. Donehoo. Better than its title. 'R. Janssen, *Das Evangelium nach der Paraphrase des Nonnus Panopolitanus*,' and 'Drummond, *The Fourth Gospel*,' by W. P. Armstrong; 'Köhler, *Luthers 95 Thesen*,' 'W. E. Collins, *Study of Ecclesiastical History*' [very favourable], 'Zöckler, *Die Tugendlehre des Christentums*' [an 'unique monograph'], 'Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*,' 'Gregorovius, *Lucretia Borgia*,' by F. W. Loetscher. 'Orr, *Ritschlianism*,' by C. W. Hodge; 'G. W. Mead, *Modern Methods in Sunday-school Work*,' by J. A. Worden. 'R. J. Campbell, *City Temple Sermons*,' by M. V. Bartlett. 'W. T. Whitley, *Church, Ministry and Sacraments in the New Testament*,' by A. M. Dulles. Professor Warfield reviews: 'Kuyper, *Evolutie of Revelatie*,' 'Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, II.,' and 'Denney, *The Atonement and the Modern Mind*.'

*The Dublin Review* (Vol. CXXXV. No. 271. October 1904. Burns and Oates). 'A Conjectural Chapter in the Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury,' by H. Thurston, S.J. 'The Last Days of James, third Earl of Derwentwater,' by R. E. Francillon. 'True and False Reform,' by J. M. Stone. 'The Necessary Inference,' by F. Aveling. 'Domestic Affection in Saintly Characters,' by J. Freeland. 'Man's Place in the Universe, I.,' by F. R. Wegg-Prosser. Reviews

Dr. A. R. Wallace's book. 'The Benedictine Nuns of Cambray,' by E. B. B. A story of the Revolution. 'Pope Zosimus and the Council of Turin,' by Dom Chapman. Criticizes 'E. C. Babut, *Le Concile de Turin: Essai sur l'histoire des Églises provençales au V<sup>me</sup> siècle et sur les origines de la monarchie ecclésiastique romaine.*' 'The Ninth Gāthā of the Avesta,' by Bishop L. C. Casartelli. Reviews: 'J. Brough, *Study of Mental Science*'; 'T. J. Shahan, *St. Patrick in History*'; 'J. Gerard, S.J., *The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer*'; 'G. B. Matulewicz, *Doctrina Russorum de statu iustitiae originalis*'; 'J. B. Sagmüller, *Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechtes*'; 'Granderath-Kirch, *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils*'; 'J. Churton Collins, *Sir Thomas More's Utopia*'; 'H. Grauert, *Dante und H. S. Chamberlain*'; 'H. Thurston, S.J., *Lent and Holy Week*'; 'Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs declared Blessed in 1886 and 1895*'; 'R. F. Weymouth, *New Testament in Modern Speech*'; 'J. W. Thirtle, *Titles of the Psalms*'; 'Th. Calmes, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean.*'

*The Baptist Review and Expositor* (Vol. I. No. 3. October 1904. Louisville, Ky.: The Seminary Press). 'Christ in the Thought of To-day,' by J. Orr. 'Old and New Evangelism,' by O. P. Gifford. 'The Book of the Unseen World,' by J. H. Cooke. Describes the Egyptian 'Book of Hades.' 'The Power of the Holy Spirit for Witnessing,' by J. B. Anderson. 'Herbert Spencer,' by J. J. Taylor. 'Religion and the State,' by G. B. Eager. Defends the complete independence of Church and State. Reviews: 'A. Sabatier, *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit*,' by E. Y. Mullins. 'R. G. Moulton, *Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible*,' by G. B. Eager. 'G. Vos, *The Teaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God and the Church*,' and 'H. Spencer, *Autobiography*,' by W. O. Carver. 'J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*,' 'Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*,' 'Critical Questions,' 'C. A. Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*,' 'O. Holtzmann, *The Life of Jesus*,' 'Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*,' by A. T. Robertson, 'W. Barry, *Cardinal Newman*,' by W. J. McGlothlin.

*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (Vol. XVII. No. 65. October 1904. Macmillan). 'The Zionist Peril,' by L. Wolf. 'Isaac Pulgar's *Support of the Religion*,' by G. Belasco. 'The Origins of the Religion of Israel,' by G. H. Skipwith. Cf. *J.Q.R.* April 1900. 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge, VII.,' by H. Hirschfeld. 'American Autos,' by E. N. Adler. Autos de Fé at Lima and Cartagena de las Indias from 1573 to 1806, with Notes on Mexico and Italy. 'Philo of Alexandria,' by J. H. A. Hart. 'The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela' (continued), by M. N. Adler. Hebrew text with beautiful photographs and translation. 'The Falashas,' by C. Singer. 'Allgemeine Einleitung in die Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters' (continued), by M. Steinschneider. 'The High Priest's Procession on the Day of Atonement,' by L. Belleli. 'Zu dem Geniza-Fragment, *J.Q.R.* xvi. 690 ff.,' by S. Poznański. Reviews: 'R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*,' by W. Bacher. 'Driver, *Genesis*,' by S. A. Cook. 'S. Hanover, *Das Festgesetz der Samaritaner nach Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'fāb*,' by S. Poznański. His commentary of Lev. xxiii. 'Das Gebetbuch nach Jemenischem Ritus,' by the same.

*The Expository Times* (Vol. XVI. Nos. 1-3. October-December 1904. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark). 'Science and Sophistry,' by F. Blass. 'Recent Literature on Buddha and Buddhism.' 'The Tarsian Citizenship of St. Paul,' by W. M. Ramsay. 'The Identity of the New Testament Election with the Universal Offer of Salvation,' by W. L. Walker. 'The Destruction of the Original of Ecclesiasticus,' by D. S. Margoliouth. 'H. V. Geere, *By Nile and*

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*Euphrates*' (also December). 'Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*,' 'Latimer as a Christian Socialist,' by Bishop Gore. '"Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Church,'" by R. J. Fox. 'Ἀληθεία and Ἀληθινός in St. John,' by G. F. Hamilton and G. G. Findlay. '"God save the King": a Query,' by E. Nestle. 'Ecclesiastes: an Appreciation,' by W. Griffiths. November: 'On the Translation and Use of the Psalms for the Public Worship of the Church' (concluded December), by (the late) W. Robertson Smith. 'Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*,' by J. V. Pražek. 'The Theology of St. John, II,' by G. G. Findlay. 'Anglo-Jewish Literature in 5664,' by A. M. Hyamson. 'C. F. Kent, *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History*,' 'Hand, *Ideals of Science and Faith*,' 'F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*,' 'The Education of St. John in Patmos,' by W. M. Ramsay. December: 'The Mythological Acts of the Apostles,' by J. G. Tasker. 'Recent Foreign Theology: a Survey,' by J. A. Selbie; '"They Rested the Sabbath Day according to the Commandment,'" by H. S. Cronin; 'Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum*,' by J. Iverach. 'Hutton, *Letters of Bishop Stubbs*,' 'R. C. Moberly, *Problems and Principles*,' 'J. Cooper, *The Book of Common Prayer*,' Reprints the Scottish Liturgy of 1637. 'R. J. Knowling, *St. James*,' 'Ashteroth Karnaim,' by W. O. E. Oesterley. '*The Web of Indian Life*,' by N. MacNicol. 'Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mond-religion und die mosaische Überlieferung*,' by A. H. Sayce. 'H. P. Cochrane, *Among the Burmans*,' 'A. Plummer, *English Church History, 1575-1649*.'

*The Independent Review* (Vol. IV. Nos. 13-15, October-December 1904. Fisher Unwin). 'Housing: Lessons from Germany,' by T. C. Horsfall. 'The Chance of the Public Schools,' by J. L. Paton. 'University Extension,' by J. A. R. Marriott. 'The Story of Karageorge,' by M. E. Durham. 'First Aid to the Critic,' by C. F. Keary. 'General Booth: a Character Sketch,' by M. Betham-Edwards. 'The Peasant Caste in Russia,' by P. Vinogradoff. 'Tramping as a Tramp,' by R. C. K. Ensor. Well worth reading. 'A. Stead, *Japan and the Japanese: a Survey by its Highest Authorities*,' by F. W. Hirst. November: 'In Peril of Change,' by C. F. G. Masterman. 'The Swiss Peasant,' by W. H. Dawson. 'The Origin of Circumcision,' by J. G. Frazer. 'Hellenism and Christianity,' by F. M. Stawell. 'The Work of Mr. Henry James,' by S. Waterlow. 'Socialism in Japan,' by A. Stead. 'The Myth of Magna Carta,' by E. Jenks. 'Faith and Knowledge,' by G. Lowes Dickinson. 'Internationalism and the Hague,' by F. W. Hirst. Reviews: 'Lomas, *Carlyle's Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*,' by G. M. Trevelyan. 'A. J. Balfour, *Reflections Suggested by the New Theory of Matter*,' by R. G. Hawtrey. 'R. M. Johnston, *The Napoleonic Empire in S. Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies*,' by J. H. Rose. December: 'What Reformers can do for Agriculture.' 'To Replace the Old Order,' by F. Cholmeley. 'The Religions of Japan,' by Baron Suyematsu. 'Of Style,' by C. F. Keary. 'On Religious Conformity,' by G. M. Trevelyan. 'Labour and Drink,' by John Burns. 'The "Trojan Women" of Euripides,' by G. Murray. 'Incarnation and Re-incarnation,' by A. Lang. 'An Agricultural Policy,' by F. Channing. '*Life and Letters of M. Creighton*,' by J. N. Figgis.

*The Liberal Churchman* (Vol. I. No. 1, November 1904. Williams and Norgate). 'The Task of Liberal Theology,' by W. D. Morrison. 'Ritschlianism,' by H. Rashdall. 'On Clerical Subscription,' by H. H. Henson. 'Dr. Gore and the Creeds.' Reviews: 'Driver, *Genesis*,' by C. H. Parez. 'Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*,' 'Jülicher, *Introduction to the New Testament* (E. T.)'; 'The Bible Society's *Greek Testament*.' 'Bishop Percival, *The Church*

and National Life: a Charge.' 'W. R. Inge, Faith and Knowledge, and Light, Life and Love.' 'W. S. Parker, A Word for Mr. Beech.'

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*The Quarterly Review* (No. 400. October 1904. John Murray). 'The Advocatus Diaboli on the *Divina Commedia*.' 'The Palace of Knossos,' by D. G. Hogarth. With a plan. 'The Polish Nation.' 'The Influence of Kant on Modern Thought,' by the Master of Balliol. 'Thomas Traherne and the Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century,' by W. L. Jones. 'The Animals of Africa,' by R. Lydekker. Illustrated. 'French Painting in the Middle Ages,' by R. E. Fry. 'Higher Education in Wales.' 'The Case of the Scottish Churches.'

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*Hermathena*. (No. XXX. 1904. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co.). 'A New Edition of Manilius, Book I,' by R. Ellis. 'Notes on Coney's *Irish-English Dictionary*,' by T. K. Abbott. 'The Origin of Pelagius,' by J. B. Bury. 'M. Bellanger's *Orientius*,' by L. C. Purser. 'Aristotle's Doctrine of the Mean,' by G. A. Exham. 'The Book of Enoch in the Egyptian Church,' by H. J. Lawlor. 'Dante's Quest of Liberty,' by H. S. Verschoyle. 'God and the Spirit of Man: a Transcendental Case for Theism,' by A. R. Eagar. 'Berkeley and Kant,' by R. A. P. Rogers.

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and Lord Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745, II.,' by R. Garnett. 'The Records of the Commission Feudale in the Neapolitan Archives,' by R. M. Johnston. Reviews: 'B. W. Henderson, *The Emperor Nero*,' by E. S. Shuckburgh. 'L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Aurélien (270-275)*,' by H. Stuart Jones. 'K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern*,' by A. J. Mason. 'Lavisse, *Histoire de France*,' by T. F. Tout. 'Gaskoin, *Alcuin*,' by H. W. C. Davis. 'U. Balzani, *Il Chronicon Parfense di Gregorio di Catino*,' by R. L. Poole. 'A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, II. Pontefract, Howden, Northallerton, Acaster, Rotherham, Giggleswick, Sedburgh,' by F. Watson. 'Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*,' by E. W. Brooks. 'F. A. Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Premenstratensia*, I.,' by C. Johnson. 'I. S. Leadam, *Select Cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber, 1477-1509*,' by J. Gairdner. 'Cambridge Modern History: III. The Reformation,' by E. W. Watson. 'J. Pollock, *The Popish Plot*,' by R. Lodge. 'J. C. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Vols. VI., VII.,' by F. W. Dendy. 'Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, [sixth edition.]' Brown, *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1904*.' 'E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras*.' 'R. Davies, *Chelsea Old Church*.' 'H. T. Crofton, *History of Stretford Chapel*, Vol. III.,' and other works.

*The Economic Review* (Vol. XIV. No. 4. October 1904. Rivington). 'The Rural Exodus,' by F. W. Bussell. 'Some Social Aspects of Spain,' by E. A. Barnett. 'The Housing of Cambridge,' by H. Cayley. An interesting piece of work. 'The Choice of Employment for Boys,' by S. J. Gibb. 'The Reports of the Mosely Education Committee,' by J. Wells. 'C. S. Loch and others, *Methods of Social Advance*,' by S. Ball. 'G. M. Wrong and H. H. Langton, *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada for 1903*,' by L. L. Price. 'E. Reich, *Success among Nations*, by H. R. P. Gamon. 'A. V. Woodworth, *Christian Socialism in England*,' by M. W. Middleton.

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del' Esarcato (Il Rito detto in seguito Patriarchino e le origini del Canon Missae Romano).'

*Analecta Bollandiana* (Tom. XXIII. Fasc. IV. October 1904. Brussels). F. van Ortroy: 'Saint Ambroise et l'empereur Théodose.' Discusses the credibility of the story of the Repulse. H. Delehaye: 'Castor et Pollux dans les légendes hagiographiques.' Reviews 'J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in Christian Legends*,' and 'P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *I ss. Gervasio et Protasio sono una imitazione di Castore e Polluce?*' (Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist. IX, 1903). (The late) A. Largeault and H. Bodensstaff: 'Miracles de Sainte Radegonde, xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle.' From MSS. Bibl. Pictav. 252, 253. F. Cumont: 'Zimara dans le Testament des martyrs de Sébaste.' H. Delehaye: 'S. Grégoire le Grand dans l'hagiographie grecque.' J. Van den Gheyn: 'Note sur le manuscrit No. 9890-92 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique et le lieu de sépulture du B. Jeann Fisher.' All Hallows Barking. A. Poncet: 'Le légendier de saint Félix de Pavie, imprimé en 1523.' Bulletin des publications hagiographiques. H. D [elehaye]: 'A. Schmidtke, *Das Klosterland des Athos*;' 'Preuschen, *Origenes Johanneskommentar*;' 'Klostermann, *Eusebius Onomastikon*;' 'Gressmann, *Eusebius Theophanie*;' 'Harnack, *Chronologie d. altchristl. Litteratur*, II;' 'H. von Soden, *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung*;' 'Achelis, *Virgines subintroductae*;' 'Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*;' 'Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*;' 'J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I<sup>er</sup> jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)*;' 'K. Lake, *Greek Monasteries in South Italy* (J.T.S. Vol. IV., 1903-4). P. Peeters: 'M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*;' 'M. D. Gibson and A. S. Lewis, *Horae Semiticae*.' A. P[oncel]: 'A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*;' 'A. M. Amelli, *S. Bruno di Segni, Gregorio VII ed Enrico IV in Roma (1081-3) illustrati da un documento inedito della biblioteca capitolare di Verona*.' V[an] O[rtoy]: 'A. Astrain, S.J., *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España: I., San Ignacio de Loyola, 1540-1556*;' 'Œuvres de S. François de Sales, Tome XII, Lettres' [the great critical edition which is being published at Annecy]. H. Moretus: 'Besse, *Saint Wandrille*.' E. Hocedez: 'M. Bouix, S.J., *Vie de sainte Thérèse écrite par elle-même*.' U. Chevalier: 'Supplementum ad Repertorium Hymnologicum [Virgines Deo dicatae . . . Zeno curavit filiam].'

*Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Anno X. N. 1-4. Roma: Libreria Spithöver). P. Franchi de' Cavalieri: 'Osservazioni sopra alcuni atti di martiri da Settimio Severo a Massimino Daza.' O. Marucchi: (1) 'Il cimitero di Commodilla e la basilica cimiteriale dei SS. Felice ed Adauto ivi recentemente scoperta.' Illustrated. (2) 'Di alcune iscrizioni recentemente scoperte nel cimitero di Priscilla.' (3) 'Resoconto delle adunanze tenute dalla società per le conferenze di archeologia cristiana.' G. Wilpert: 'Di tre pitture recentemente scoperte nella basilica dei santi Felice ed Adauto nel cimitero di Commodilla.' Illustrated. G. Bonavenia: 'Iscrizione metrica "Siriciana" nel cimitero di Commodilla.' I. Schuster: 'L'oratorio di santo Stefano sulla via Ostiense dal secolo sesto all' undecimo.' A. Muñoz: 'Alcune fonti letterarie per la storia dell' arte bizantina.' R. Kanzler: 'Relazione degli scavi della Commissione d' archeologia sacra.' Notizie. Bibliografia. O. Marucchi: Baumstark, *Liturgia romana e liturgia dell' esarcato: Il rito detto in seguito patriarchino e le origini del Canon Missae romano*;' V. Schultze, *Codex Waldeckensis. Unbekannte fragmente einer griechisch-lateinischen Bibelhandschrift*;' L. Pasquali, *Maria Santa in Portico nella storia di Roma dal secolo VI al XX*. A. uffiz: 'J. Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, III.'

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*Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* (Nos. 8-10. October-December 1904. Paris: Lecoffre). P. Batiffol: 'L'Eucharistie dans le Nouveau Testament' (suite). J. Calvet: De l'influence de S. Vincent de Paul sur la prédication.' Bonaccorsi, *I tre primi Vangeli*; 'G. Dumesnil, *L'Amé et l'évolution de la littérature des origines à nos jours*'; 'Controverse de M. de Hügel et de M. l'abbé Wehrle.' Novembre-Décembre. 'La valeur historique du Dogme, à propos d'une controverse récente.' Discusses the Hügel-Wehrle controversy in the *Quinzaine* and the 'philosophie anti-intellectualiste, d'allure mystique' of MM. Blondel and Laberthonnière and Fr. Tyrrell, S.J. L. Saltet: 'Le Luther du R. P. Denifle.' 'Autour du code de Hammurabi, autour de la question Babel et Bible, M. Schanz et le nouveau livre du R. P. de Hummelauer, l'Introduction à la Néo-scholastique de M. de Wulf.'

*Teologisk Tidsskrift* (Vol. V. No. 6. Kjöbenhavn, 1904). L. J. Koch: 'Kanon og Kritik: et Forsøg.' T. L. Thomsen: 'Sokolowski, *Die Begriffe Geist und Leben bei Paulus*.' E. Geismar: 'J. Ording, *Den religiøse Erkendelse, dens Art og Vished*.' C. Glarbo: 'Söderblom, *Uppenbarelsereligion og Trøenighet*.' P. D. Koch: 'Murisier, *Les maladies du sentiment religieux*.' J. Aarsbo: 'Kirkenmusik.'

*The East and the West* (Vol. II. No. 8. October 1904. S.P.G.). 'Is Tolstoi right?' 'The Indian Universities Act and the Missionary Colleges,' by Sir T. Raleigh. 'The Ethiopian Movement and the Order of Ethiopia,' by W. M. Cameron. 'The Need for Industrial Missions,' by R. W. Thompson. 'Recruiting for Foreign Missionary Work.' 'Community Missions,' by the Bishop of Lahore. 'The Tendencies of Hinduism,' by J. Kennedy. 'The Ethical Basis of Missionary Enthusiasm,' by Bishop Hamilton Baynes. 'Some Thoughts on the Native Question in South Africa,' by the Bishop-Coadjutor of Capetown. 'Has the African Native progressed in the Past,' by A. Werner. Editorial Notes. Reviews: 'B. Spencer, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*'; 'S. A. B. Scherer, *Japan To-day*'; 'E. Stock, *Short Handbook of Missions*.'

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

The more important will be reviewed or noticed in Articles as space permits.

## OLD TESTAMENT.

AYLES, H. H. B.—*A Critical Commentary on Genesis ii. 4-iii. 25*. Pp. vi + 162. (London: C. J. Clay and Sons.) 5s.

BARNES, W. E.—*The Peshitta Psalter according to the West Syrian Text*. Edited with an Apparatus Criticus. Pp. lxi + 227. (Cambridge University Press.) 12s. net.

MAIMONIDES, M.—*The Guide for the Perplexed*. Translated from the original Arabic Text by M. FRIEDLÄNDER. Second Edition, revised throughout. Pp. lxii + 414. (Routledge.) 7s. 6d. net.

NAIRNE, A.—*Modern Biblical Criticism in Reference to the Old Testament*. Pp. 16. (S.P.C.K.) 1d. An admirable pamphlet, but we could wish that it were double the length.

SELFE, R. E.—*The Work of the Prophets*. (Simple Guides to Christian Knowledge.) Pp. xii + 170. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d. net.

WHITHAM, A. R.—*Handbook to the History of the Hebrew Monarchy*.

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Vol. II., From the Accession of Solomon to the Captivity of Judah. (Handbooks to Bible and Prayer Book.) Pp. xii + 352. (Rivingtons.) 3s. 6d. net.

WIENER, H. M.—*Studies in Biblical Law*. Pp. xii + 128. (D. Nutt.) 3s. 6d. net.

#### NEW TESTAMENT.

D'ONSTON, R.—*The Patristic Gospels: an English Version of the Holy Gospels as they existed in the Second Century*. Pp. xii + 156. (Grant Richards.) 4s. net. A preliminary requisite is better Patristic texts.

FINDLAY, G. G.—*The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians*. With Map, Introduction, and Notes. (Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.) Pp. lxxii + 248. (Cambridge University Press.) 3s.

GREENHOUGH, J. G.—*The Apostles of Our Lord*. Pp. xii + 278. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5s.

HILLARD, A. E.—*The Acts of the Apostles*. With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. Pp. vi + 178. (Rivingtons.) 2s.

KNOWLING, R. J.—*The Epistle of St. James*. With an Introduction and Notes. (Westminster Commentaries.) Pp. lxxx + 160. (Methuen.) 6s.

RAMSAY, W. M.—*The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse*. Pp. xx + 446. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 12s.

#### PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

GAZE, R. K.—*The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas*. 'Hare Prize, 1903.' Pp. x + 260. (C. J. Clay and Sons.) 5s. net.

HYDE, W. DE W.—*From Epicurus to Christ: a Study in the Principles of Personality*. Pp. x + 286. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) 6s. 6d. net.

WADIA, P. A.—*An Inquiry into the Principles of Modern Theosophy, with an Appendix containing a Paper on Pantheism*. Pp. xvi + 216. (Bombay: B. T. Anklesaria.)

#### CHURCH HISTORY.

FARQUHAR, J. T. F.—*The Visible Church in the Light of Reason and History, with Special Application to Scottish Affairs*. Pp. 212. (Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Sons.) 5s. 6d. net.

FELTOE, C. L.—*The Letters and other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*. (Cambridge Patristic Texts.) Pp. xxxvi + 282. (Cambridge University Press.) 7s. 6d. net.

HORNER, G.—*The Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones Ecclesiastici*. Edited with Translation and Collation from Ethiopic and Arabic MSS.; also a Translation of the Saidic and Collation of the Bohairic Versions, and Saidic Fragments. Pp. xl + 480. (Williams and Norgate.) 18s. 6d. net.

PLUMMER, A.—*English Church History from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of Charles I.* Four Lectures. Pp. xii + 180. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) 3s. net.

SHAWCROSS, J. P.—*A History of Dagenham in the County of Essex*. Pp. xvi + 328. (Skeffington.) 10s. 6d.

STALKER, J.—*John Knox: his Ideas and Ideals*. Pp. viii + 250. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 3s. 6d.

TURNER, C. H.—*Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. nonum et Conciliorum Graecorum Interpretationes Latinac.* Fasc. I. Pars II.

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Pars II.

*Nicaeni Concilii Praefationes Capitula Symbolum Canones.* Pp. viii + 97-280. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 21s.

VETTER, TH.—*Relations between England and Zurich during the Reformation.* Pp. ii + 64. (Elliot Stock.) 1s. 6d. net.

#### ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

DILL, S.—*Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.* Pp. xxiv + 640. (Macmillan.) 15s. net.

FIRTH, C. H.—*A Plea for the Historical Teaching of History.* An Inaugural Lecture. Pp. 32. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 1s. net.

FREEMAN, E. A. (the late).—*Western Europe in the Fifth Century: an Aftermath.* Pp. viii + 386. (Macmillan.) 10s. net.

—*Western Europe in the Eighth Century and Onward: an Aftermath.* Pp. viii + 470. (Macmillan.) 10s. net.

TREVELYAN, G. M.—*England under the Stuarts.* Pp. xvi + 566. (Methuen.) 6s. 6d. net.

WALPOLE, SIR SPENCER.—*The History of Twenty-five Years.* Vol. I., 1856-1865. Vol. II., 1865-1870. Pp. xviii + 530, xiv + 526. (Longmans.) 24s. net.

#### DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETIC.

CLARKE, J. L.—*The Eternal Saviour-Judge.* With an Introduction by J. R. ILLINGWORTH. Pp. xxiv + 354. (Murray.) 9s. net.

DENNEY, J., DODS, M., LAIDLAW, J., LINDSAY, T. M., MACKINTOSH, H. R., ORR, J., SIMPSON, P. C.—*Questions of Faith: a Series of Lectures on the Creed.* Pp. viii + 212. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5s.

HILLS, W. J.—*Some Thoughts for Churchmen on Sacrifice and Priesthood.* Pp. 16. (S.P.C.K.) 1d.

RAGG, L.—*Aspects of the Atonement: the Atoning Sacrifice illustrated from the Various Sacrificial Types of the Old Testament, and from the Successive Ages of Christian Thought.* With a Preface by EDWARD, BISHOP of LINCOLN. Pp. xviii + 128. (Rivingtons.) 2s. 6d. net.

*Report of the Meetings in Defence of the Athanasian Creed which were held in the St. James's Hall and in the Hanover Square Rooms on January 31, 1873.* New edition, edited, with a Preface, by E. C. S. GIBSON. Pp. xii + 66. (Longmans.) 1s. net.

THOMAS, W. H. GRIFFITH.—*'A Sacrament of Our Redemption': an Enquiry into the Meaning of the Lord's Supper in the New Testament and the Church of England.* Pp. xvi + 116. (London: Bemrose.) 2s. 6d.

*Meditations of an Agnostic.* Pp. 16. (S.P.C.K.) 1d.

PHILLIPS, S. L.—*Agreement of Evolution and Christianity.* Pp. x + 204. (Washington, D.C.: The Phillips Co.)

PRICHARD, C. H.—*Is Christianity Miraculous?* Pp. 106. (S.P.C.K.) 2s. Deals with (i.) The Virgin Birth, (ii.) The Resurrection, (iii.) Our Lord's Miracles.

#### LITURGICA.

DEARMER, P., and EALES, F. C.—*The Sanctuary Kalendar, with Suggestions as to the Manner of conducting the Services, and Notes on the Ornaments and Arrangement of the Parish Church, and with many Illustrations.* Pp. 56. (Rivingtons.) 1s. net.

*Hierurgia Anglicana: Documents and Extracts illustrative of the Cere-*

*monial of the Anglican Church after the Reformation.* Edited by Members of the Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden, Society, A.D. 1848. New Edition. Part III. *Discipline, Ritual, etc.* Revised and considerably enlarged by V. STALEY. Pp. xx + 368. (The De La More Press.) A further instalment of this handsome and valuable new edition.

LEGG, J. WICKHAM.—*The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi.* Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Appendices. Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 3s.

*The Declaration of Clergy on Ritual.* Conference of Clergy at Keble College, Oxford, January 12 and 13, 1904. Pp. 196. (S.P.C.K.)

#### SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

AINGER, A. (the late).—*The Gospel and Human Life.* Edited by H. C. BEECHING. Pp. xiv + 350. (Macmillan.) 6s.

BLISS, W. H.—*Consistent Profession: a Part of Our Christian Duty.* Pp. vi + 54. (Skeffingtons.) 1s. net. Three Sermons addressed especially to Men, dealing with the Lord's Day, Public Worship, and the Holy Communion.

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BERNARD, T. D.—*The Word and Sacraments and other Papers illustrative of Present Questions on Church Ministry and Worship.* Pp. x + 214. (London: Bemrose and Sons.) 3s. 6d.

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*Church Teaching at Home.* A Syllabus for the Religious Instruction of Church Children. Published with the sanction and approval of the Lord Bishop, for use in the Diocese of Worcester. Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 6d.

COOPER-FUGARD, R.—*An Exposition of the Church Catechism.* Pp. ii + 58. (Edinburgh: St. Giles Printing Co.)

*Daily Talks with Children.* By the Author of 'Lent and Advent Talks.' Pp. vi + 646. (Mowbray.)

GORE, RIGHT REV. C. (Bishop of Worcester).—*The Spiritual Efficiency of the Church. The Primary Charge delivered at his Visitation to the Clergy and Churchwardens of his Diocese, October 1904.* Pp. ii + 94. (Longmans.) 1s. net.

ILLINGWORTH, J. R.—*Christian Character.* Being some Lectures on the Elements of Christian Ethics. Pp. viii + 206. (Macmillan.) 7s. 6d.

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LONGRIDGE, F.—*Lessons and Catechizings on the Old Testament.* Senior Grade. Pp. xxiv + 184. Junior Grade. Pp. xxiv + 174. 1s. 6d. each net.  
*Catechist's Supplement.* Pp. 72. 1s. net. (Mowbray.)

MOBERLY, R. C. (the late).—*Problems and Principles.* Being Papers on Subjects Theological and Ecclesiastical. Edited by R. B. RACKHAM. Pp. xvi + 412. (John Murray.) 10s. 6d. net.

MOFFATT, J.—*The Golden Book of John Owen.* Passages from the Writings of the Rev. John Owen, M.A., D.D., sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church. Chosen and edited with a study of his Life and Age. Pp. xx + 246. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

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#### DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

BELL, C. C.—*The Eucharistic Life: Considerations on the Place of Holy Communion in the Christian Life, with a Chapter on what is commonly called 'Non-communicating Attendance.'* Pp. 72. (Mowbray.) 6d. net.

BENSON, MOST REV. E. W. (late Archbishop of Canterbury).—*Gee's Board: being a series of Communion Addresses.* Pp. xii+234. (Methuen.) 3s. 6d. net.

BLUNT, E. M.—*Just Confirmed: a Simple Explanation of the Office for Holy Communion for the use of Young Communicants.* Pp. 70. (Mowbray.) 6d.

BUCKLAND, A. R., BAYLIS, F., and BLACKETT, W. R.—*Text Studies for a Year.* Pp. xxiv+284. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s. Reprinted from the *Record*.

B., H.—*A Rainbow of Remembrance.* With a Preface by G. BRETT. Pp. xii+148. (Mowbray.) A calendar for the remembrance of the departed.

COBBOLD, G. A.—*The Message of the Hours.* Pp. 56. (S.P.C.K.) 6d.

CUDLIP, P. H.—*The Eucharistic Glory of the Incarnation.* With a Preface by Archdeacon W. H. HUTCHINGS. Pp. xiv+94. (Plymouth: Underhill. Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 1s. 6d.

CUMMINGS, H.—*Bright Thoughts for Every Day.* Pp. vi+62. (Mowbray.) 1s. net.

ELLIOTT, H.—*'Daily nearer God': Verses for Each Day in the Year.* Pp. 80. (S.P.C.K.) 6d. Selections from the Apocrypha, Bishop Gore, Canon Newbolt, and others.

*Five Forms for Bidding Prayer.* Arranged by P. DEARMER. Pp. 4. (Mowbray.) 3d. net.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL.—*Prayers and Meditations.* A New Edition with Notes and an Introduction by H. HIGGINS, and a Preface by A. BIRKELL. Also some opinions of Dr. Johnson on the Christian Religion. Pp. x+154. (Elliot Stock.) 5s. net.

MOCATTA, M. A.—*The Desire of the Nations: Stories from the Old Testament for Children of the Church, illustrating steps in preparation for the Incarnation of Our Lord.* With a Preface by R. LINKLATER. Pp. viii+246. (Mowbray.) 5s. net.

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